

The Department of State

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The Challenge to Freedom

Address by Secretary Dulles¹

I am honored that you have asked me to take part in this annual commemoration of Virginia's Independence Resolution and of the Virginia Bill of Rights. Today is also Armed Forces Day. There is a clear relationship between these two concepts of political liberty and its defense. Independence and human rights seldom persist merely because they have been proclaimed. They depend on the willingness and capacity of men to fight and die, if need be, to preserve them. That is the particular dedication of our Armed Forces, and today as we commemorate the historic acts of the past, we also honor those who stand ready to defend our present heritage of freedom.

Historic acts, such as occurred here in 1776, should continuously be remembered. That is not merely to pay a debt which the present owes to the past. We owe it to ourselves to keep freshly in mind the profound wisdom and the great acts of faith of our forefathers. As was declared in the Virginia Bill of Rights, "no free government, or the blessings of liberty, can be preserved to any people, but . . . by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles."

A great part was played here in Williamsburg during the first 6 months of 1776. The Independence Resolution adopted here by the Virginia Convention of Delegates on May 15, 1776, was the immediate prelude to the Fourth of July Declaration of Independence. The Virginia Bill of Rights adopted on June 12, 1776, led directly to our Constitutional Bill of Rights.

The course set by Virginia proved in harmony with the spirit which pervaded all the Colonies, and it led to the creation on this continent of a political union inspired by the principles of religion and dedicated to liberty and justice.

"The Great American Experiment"

That, in turn, soon had worldwide consequences. Our Republic produced such rich fruits—spiritual, intellectual, and material—that it became widely known as "The Great American Experiment."

This happened when the tide of despotism was high. Czar Alexander and his allies were seeking to extend their colonial domain and their political system throughout the world.

At that juncture, the example of our Nation caught the imagination of men everywhere and largely inspired them, in their turn, to seek liberty. So strong was that urge that in the end the despots had to relax their grip.

There followed a century which brought to many increased political freedom and a large improvement in economic and social welfare.

Today our Nation faces conditions which are in certain respects similar to those which we faced during the early years of our Republic. A tide of despotism again threatens to engulf the world.

This has come about largely as a penalty for man's inability to prevent war. The First World War and the defeat of Russia enabled a small group of fanatical Communists to gain control of that great nation. The Second World War enabled that group to extend their power to the East and to the West so that it now dominates 800 million people or one-third of the peoples of the world. Their rulers are seeking still further to extend their rule. That is conspicuously the case today in relation to the 200 million people of Southeast Asia. Their avowed aim is to bring all of mankind under the rule of their system.

The United States today is a great and powerful Nation, able to exercise a far greater material influence than could the young Republic. But we are now a matured Nation, and we are rich in material things. That makes it harder to exert moral influence such as we developed during the early

¹ Made at Williamsburg, Va., on May 15 (press release 235 dated May 14).

days when we were the impecunious revolutionaries. Then our dynamic spirit was unobscured and seemed to others a torch enlightening the world as to the values inherent in liberty.

Also, the forces of despotism today are more formidable than ever before. In the past, aggressive imperialism has most often reflected the ambitions of a single nation, or of a single man. It has never before attained the status of the well-thought-out intellectual creed taught throughout the world and pursued fanatically by many men of many nations.

Today, Communist despotism, proclaiming the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat, is a creed which carries a strong appeal to those who do not have a vigorous faith in the spiritual nature of man. It plausibly pretends to identify itself with what it calls great and irresistible forces of nature and of history.

If one does not believe in a spiritual order, if one does not accept the fact of moral law and what the Virginia Bill of Rights referred to as "the duty which we owe to our Creator," then it is, indeed, difficult to combat the thesis that men should be the servants of the State; and that one State should be the master over all other States.

If it be accepted, as a premise, that man is merely matter, then it is easy to conclude, as the Communists do, that the greatest harmony and greatest productivity come from organizing a society of conformity, where diversity is treated as grit in the gears of a delicate machine. If all people act only as directed, and think only as directed, and believe only as directed, then, it is argued, there will be none of the collisions, the disturbances, which produce social unrest and wars. Then, it is said, there will be peace and maximum productivity, because we shall have applied to man the same principles of conduct which, we find, increase peace and productivity in the case of domesticated animals.

The Supremacy of Moral Law

In truth, a system of political liberty and national sovereignty is orderly and tolerable only if the citizens exercise self-restraints and self-control in accordance with the dictates of the moral law and if they practice the Golden Rule. It is indispensable to a free society that there be acceptance of the supremacy of moral law. Without that, a free society becomes a society of intolerable license.

You will recall that George Washington in his Farewell Address pointed out that "morality is a necessary spring of popular government" and he said it could not be supposed that morality would be maintained without religion. Basically the present conflict between freedom and despotism is a conflict between a spiritual and material view of the Universe and of the nature of man.

I do not believe that this struggle is one which

can be quickly or easily resolved. Certainly it cannot be resolved by any agreed partition of humanity between freedom and despotism.

It would be intolerable for us to concede hundreds of millions of souls to despotic rule. Also, such an arrangement would be unstable from the standpoint of the Communists.

The Soviet rulers occasionally tell us that there could be "coexistence" between their society and ourselves. We must, however, beware of these professions. Coexistence is not part of a Soviet Communist creed or practice, except in the sense non-Communists are allowed, in a physical sense, to exist.

It can never be satisfactory to the Soviet Communists that freedom is suppressed only within what is presently the area they dominate. Freedom anywhere is a constant peril to them, for freedom is inherently a contagious and dynamic moral force. Therefore, the Communists conclude that they are required, as a "defensive" measure, to seek to suppress freedom in their environment.

Thus Soviet Communist rulers are driven not merely by their own lusts but by their own doctrine, by their own fears, to seek constantly to extend their control.

The Pattern of Soviet Negotiations

So far this year, we have negotiated in good faith with the Soviet rulers in relation to the use of atomic energy and in relation to Germany, Austria, Korea, and now Indochina. Always there is a consistent pattern. Never will they relax their grip on what they have. In each of the geographic areas I mention, they insist upon a formula which will not only assure the perpetuation of their despotism within the areas they now control, but also allow them to apply their ruthless methods to gain control of the areas which are still free.

It may be asked why, if these results could have been foreseen, we have negotiated at all.

My answer is that no man has the right to assume that he sees the future so clearly that he is justified in concluding either that war is inevitable or that methods of conciliation are futile. Efforts for honorable peace are required out of a decent respect for the opinion of mankind. Also, they clarify the issues. That is why we resumed high-level talks with those who proclaim themselves our enemies, talks which had been broken off for 5 years. We have accompanied these talks with safeguards designed to prevent the arousing of false hopes or a relaxing of essential vigilance. We have not compromised liberty where it prevails within the free world and we have kept faith with those who, having lost liberty, still covet it.

Out of talks, held under these conditions, has at least come a demonstration of the implacable purpose of the rulers of the Soviet Communist bloc.

We are, indeed, confronted with something far more formidable than individual or national lust for glory and power. We are confronted with a massive system which, despite its present power, believes that it cannot survive except as it succeeds in progressively destroying human freedom. In so doing, it is restrained by no considerations of morality or humanity.

I do not speak in a mood of pessimism. We shall persist in our efforts to negotiate in relation to Germany, Austria, Korea, Indochina, and atomic energy. We know that Soviet Communist doctrine teaches that it must be prepared to make concessions and retreats when faced by an opponent that is strong. Furthermore, we know that the Soviet Communists' attempt to impose their absolute rule over 800 million captives involves them in what, in the long run, is an impossible task. Already, beneath the solid and formidable exterior which despotism usually presents, there is much unrest. For the most part it is kept concealed. But there are occasional flashes that reveal the truth. The execution of Beria, and the revolt of the East Germans of last June, show that the rulers fear and hate and plot against each other and that the ruled are not reconciled to their fate.

Also, it may be that the very fact that the power of destruction is now awesome will itself lead even the materialists to exercise restraint as a matter of expediency.

I do not believe that a new glacial age of despotism is going to creep over all the world. I believe that freedom still burns with a fire which cannot be extinguished. It is, however, time that we should realize that freedom faces a most formidable challenge. Also, we should realize that the survival of freedom depends not merely on the number of the free but even more upon the intensity of their faith.

We often speak as a matter of convenience about the "free world," meaning thereby those portions of the world which are not now dominated by communism. In that sense, approximately two-thirds of the world is "free." But in the free countries, only a part of their people are inspired by the kind of faith which alone is potent as against the materialistic and aggressive forces of despotism.

The future of freedom rests with a small minority of mankind. That is why it is indispensable that the people of our Republic, for their part, should hold fast to the faith of their fathers. Just as freedom is contagious so, too, faith is contagious. One of the best ways to keep our own faith strong is to recall the faith of our forefathers and to keep fresh in our minds the great deeds, the near miracles which they wrought through faith.

Our national history is rich in the story of men who through faith in freedom wrought mightily. Some of the greatest of these—George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, and Patrick

Henry, to name but a few—worked here at Williamsburg in what has become known as the "prelude to independence." It is good that, by such commemorations as those you hold today, we recall their faith and works. Thus, our faith, too, will be kept strong and enable us, in the era in which we live, to play worthily our allotted part.

U.S. Policy in Southeast Asia

News Conference Statements by Secretary Dulles

Press releases 241, 244, 245 dated May 11

Allegations of Diplomatic Defeat at Geneva

At his news conference on May 11, Secretary Dulles was asked whether he considered that he or the United States suffered a diplomatic defeat at Geneva. Mr. Dulles made the following reply:

I have read about that in the press—foreign, domestic, Communist, and non-Communist. I don't know what it is talking about. It is true that at Geneva we have so far not achieved the unification of Korea, nor does it seem likely that we will achieve the unification of Indochina under conditions of freedom and peace. We never thought that there was a good chance of accomplishing those results. In all of these conferences, we go into them realizing that the Communists have a pattern of their own, which they have applied in Germany, which they have applied in Korea, which they are applying now in Indochina. This means that they will hold on to what they have got and try to get us to accept a scheme whereby they can get some more. We keep on trying. But I do not call it a diplomatic defeat that we are not able to lead the Communists to give up, as long as they don't lead us to make any costly concession, which we do not intend to make.

Geneva Armistice Proposals

Asked whether the armistice proposal put forward at Geneva by the Viet Minh Communists was acceptable to the United States, Mr. Dulles made the following reply:

I think very little of it because it is the same pattern that has been applied in the past in Germany, Austria, and Korea; namely, to compel a withdrawal of the forces which sustain a free society and to set up a system under which the Communists can grab the whole area.

It is certainly unacceptable in its totality. Whether there is any particular word or phrase in it that is acceptable I would not want to say

without further study. But it is not acceptable in its totality.

Asked whether the French proposal was acceptable to the United States, Mr. Dulles replied:

The French proposal I regard as acceptable. Of course a great deal of detail would have to be worked out. But the general concept of an internationally controlled armistice seems to me to be one that is acceptable.

Concept of United Action

Secretary Dulles was asked whether there were not insuperable difficulties in the creation of a genuinely effective Asiatic-Pacific defense alliance. He replied:

There are certainly great difficulties, as I pointed out in the speech which I made a few days ago.¹ The concept of collective security in the area is nothing new. It is in the treaties which I negotiated in 1950 and in 1951 with Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines, and also with Japan, wherein we talked of the development of a more comprehensive system of security in the area. The difficulties in the way have been very great. I wrote an article, I remember, in *Foreign Affairs*, I think in January of 1952, on the problem of trying to develop an enlarged Asian or Pacific-South Asian or Pacific security pact. Now the difficulties are very great because of the differences between the different nations, their different degrees of independence or lack of independence, differences of race and religion, and a lack of common traditions. It is an extremely difficult area in which to operate, and it is inevitable that progress should be slow, and in many of these situations the willingness to cooperate has a certain relationship to the measure of fear which is entertained by the peoples concerned. I do not say the difficulties are insuperable. If I felt that, I wouldn't have put my shoulder to the task of trying to create it.

Asked what would be required to constitute an effective commitment in any such agreement, Secretary Dulles replied:

I believe that the commitments should be of such a character that if they were openly challenged we would be prepared to fight, just as our similar commitments carry that implication in relation to the other mutual-security arrangements we have made—the North Atlantic Treaty, the ANZUS Treaty, Philippine Treaty, the Rio Treaties, and so forth.

Asked what would bring such an agreement into operation, he said:

¹ BULLETIN of May 17, 1954, p. 739.

If the states of Viet-Nam, Laos, and Cambodia are comprehended in this collective security pact, I would feel then it would be appropriate to use force to put down attacks such as are now going on there.

Asked if such a pact would include the Associated States, he replied:

That depends a good deal upon the views of other countries and ourselves. It depends upon the views of the Governments of Viet-Nam, Laos, and Cambodia, on the views of the French, on the views of some of the other participants. I can't forecast that at the present time because the situation is very much in a state of flux.

Asked if such a concept was designed specifically to meet the situation in Indochina or the broader area, he replied:

The purpose of this collective security arrangement which we are trying to create is to save Southeast Asia, to save all of Southeast Asia if it can be saved; if not, to save essential parts of it.

Asked if the plan for collective security could succeed if one or more of its segments were lost to the Communists, he replied:

The situation in that area, as we found it, was that it was subject to the so-called "domino theory." You mean that if one went, another would go? We are trying to change it so that would not be the case. That is the whole theory of collective security. You generally have a whole series of countries which can be picked up one by one. That is the whole theory of the North Atlantic Treaty. As the nations come together, then the "domino theory," so-called, ceases to apply. And what we are trying to do is create a situation in Southeast Asia where the domino situation will not apply.

And while I see it has been said that I felt that Southeast Asia could be secured even without perhaps Viet-Nam, Laos, and Cambodia, I do not want for a minute to underestimate the importance of those countries nor do I want for a minute to give the impression that we believe that they are going to be lost or that we have given up trying to prevent their being lost. On the contrary, we recognize that they are extremely important and that the problem of saving Southeast Asia is far more difficult if they are lost. But I do not want to give the impression either that if events that we could not control and which we do not anticipate should lead to their being lost, that we would consider the whole situation hopeless, and we would give up in despair. We do not give up in despair. Also, we do not give up Viet-Nam, Laos, or Cambodia.

Geneva Conference Begins Discussions on Indochina

Following are the texts of statements made by Under Secretary Smith in the first and second plenary sessions of the Geneva Conference on Indochina, on May 8 and May 10, together with a draft resolution introduced by the French delegation on May 8:

STATEMENT OF MAY 8

The U.S. delegation takes this opportunity to recall that at Berlin, the United States joined with France, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R. in agreeing to organize a conference at Geneva to consider the problems of Korea and of Indochina.¹ Subsequently, the same four powers reached agreement as to the composition of the Indochina phase of the Conference, an agreement reflected in the presence here today of the nine delegations in this hall. As in the case of the Korean phase, there are only four inviting powers, the United Kingdom, France, the United States, and the U.S.S.R. Therefore, if, as has been stated in press reports, the invitation issued to the so-called Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam appears in the name of both the U.S.S.R. and the Communist Chinese regime, that invitation is, in its form, at variance with the clear understanding of the Foreign Ministers present at Berlin last February. Assuming the press reports to be accurate, the U.S. delegation can only regret that the Indochina phase of this Conference should be initiated by a procedural evasion of previously reached agreements.

At Berlin we agreed that "the problem of restoring peace in Indochina" would be discussed at this Conference "to which representatives of the United States, France, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Chinese People's Republic, and other interested states will be invited."

At Geneva the four inviting powers have agreed that in addition to the participation specified at

Berlin there should be representatives at this Conference of the Governments of Laos, Cambodia, and Viet-Nam, and of the Viet Minh.

The United States cannot agree to the suggestion which has just been made that nonexistent so-called governments or states, such as the so-called Pathet Lao or Free Cambodians, can in any way be considered as qualifying for invitations to this Conference under the Berlin agreement.

The United States proposes that any idea of inviting these nonexistent so-called governments be rejected. If there is opposition to this United States proposal, the United States suggests this meeting be adjourned to allow for further discussions on this point between the four inviting powers.

STATEMENT OF MAY 10

The U.S. delegation warmly welcomes the proposals made and accepted this afternoon for the evacuation of the long-suffering wounded of Dien-Bien-Phu and hopes sincerely that this evacuation will be effected without delay.

Regrettably, for the subsequent 2 hours of our session we listened to a remarkable distortion of the events of the past few years in Indochina. The Viet Minh spokesman² is well trained in the Communist technique of distorting history and calling black white. The world has learned to evaluate such spurious allegations. The charges made against the United States by the Viet Minh representative are substantially identical with those made by other Communist representatives during the opening phase of the Korean discussion. They have been already amply and adequately refuted, and I see no reason to divert this Conference from its important task by according them further attention at this time. I cannot refrain, however, from commenting on his remarkable effrontery in describing the brutal Viet Minh aggression against Cambodia and Laos as a movement of "liberation."

¹ BULLETIN of Mar. 1, 1954, p. 318.

² Pham Van Dong.

At present, I will merely say that, after his statement, it is extremely difficult to believe that the Viet Minh representative has come to this Conference with any intention of negotiating a just and durable peace.

The United States has come here with sincere hopes that the work of this Conference at Geneva will result in the restoration of peace in Indochina and in the opportunity for Cambodia, Laos, and Viet-Nam to enjoy their independence under conditions of a real and lasting peace.

The United States has watched with sympathy the development of the peoples of Indochina toward independence. The United States and many other countries have recognized the three States of Cambodia, Laos, and Viet-Nam. We have followed with great interest the negotiations which have been undertaken by France and the Associated States to perfect the independence of the Associated States.

The United States has shown in many ways its sympathy for the effort of the Associated States to safeguard their independence. We have provided material aid to France and the Associated States to assist them in this effort and have given them support to enable them to resist open and covert invasion from without their borders. We will continue to do so, for the simple reason that it is the wish of the American people to assist any nation that is determined to defend its liberty and independence.

The United States maintains that the first principle of any settlement in Indochina must be to assure the independence and freedom of the States of Cambodia, Laos, and Viet-Nam.

The United States also maintains that any settlement in Indochina must give assurance of real and lasting peace. To this end, the United States believes that any settlement must be preceded by an armistice agreement which incorporates effective and adequate safeguards.

The United States maintains that such an armistice agreement can be effective only under international supervision. The United States, therefore, believes that any settlement must include provisions for effective international supervision and assurance of powers and privileges on the part of the international supervising authority equal to enable it to carry out its various responsibilities.

The United States welcomes the French initiative and believes the French representative has made a helpful contribution toward the restoration of peace in Indochina. The French proposals are consistent with the general principles to which any satisfactory settlement must conform. In our opinion, they should be accompanied by a program for the resolution of political problems. We look forward to hearing the views of the Government of Viet-Nam on such a program.

The United States notes the French proposal that "agreements shall be guaranteed by the States

participating in the Geneva Conference." The United States has already demonstrated its devotion to the principle of collective security and its willingness to help in the development of collective security arrangements in Southeast Asia, as elsewhere. Until it is possible to see more clearly the exact nature of the agreements to be guaranteed and to determine the obligations of the guarantors, we will, of course, not be able to express any judgment on this section of the proposal.

The U.S. delegation suggests that the Conference adopt the French proposal as a basis of discussion and hopes that we will move forward constructively and rapidly in bringing about a restoration of peace in Indochina.

The U.S. delegation has listened with sympathy to the factual recital of the representatives of Cambodia and Laos and will study with interest their proposals for the restoration of peace in Cambodia and Laos.

FRENCH PROPOSAL OF MAY 8

[Unofficial translation]

I

FOR VIET-NAM :

1. The grouping of regular units in zones of assembly, to be determined by the conference on the basis of proposals from the Commanders in Chief.
2. The disarmament of elements which do not belong either to the army or to forces in charge of maintaining order.
3. The immediate liberation of war prisoners and civilian internees.
4. The control of the execution of these clauses by international commissions.
5. Cessation of hostilities with the signing of this agreement.

The re-assembly of troops and the disarmament cited above, provided for in the five points, would begin, at the latest, [number of days] after the signing of the accord.

II

FOR CAMBODIA AND LAOS :

1. Evacuation of all regular and irregular Viet-Minh forces which have invaded the countries.
2. The disarmament of elements which do not belong either to the army or to forces in charge of maintaining order.
3. The immediate liberation of war prisoners and civilian internees.
4. The control of the execution of these clauses by international commissions.

III

These agreements shall be guaranteed by the States participating in the Geneva Conference. Any violation would call for immediate consultation among these States with a view to taking appropriate measures individually or collectively.

Reports of U.S. War Prisoners Held in Soviet Custody

Press release 249 dated May 13

Following are the texts of (1) a note of May 5 sent by the U.S. Embassy at Moscow to the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs and (2) the reply received by the Embassy on May 12:

U.S. NOTE

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and has the honor to request the Ministry's assistance in the following matter:

The United States Government has recently received reports which support earlier indications that American prisoners of war who had seen action in Korea have been transported to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and that they are now in Soviet custody. The United States Government desires to receive urgently all information available to the Soviet Government concerning these American personnel and to arrange their repatriation at the earliest possible time.

SOVIET NOTE

In connection with the note of the Embassy of the United States of America, received by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on May 5, 1954, the Ministry has the honor to state the following:

The United States Government's assertion contained in the indicated note that American prisoners of war who participated in military actions in Korea have allegedly been transferred to the Soviet Union and at the present time are being kept under Soviet guard is devoid of any foundation whatsoever and is clearly far-fetched, since there are not and have not been any such persons in the Soviet Union.

Progress Toward World Brotherhood

by Deputy Under Secretary Murphy¹

In accepting the citation and testimonial presented to me by the Massachusetts Committee of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, which I do with humility, I am conscious of a double honor: first, that you have judged me worthy to receive it; second, that you have seen fit to bestow it upon me in the distinguished company of Gen. David Sarnoff and Gen. William F. Dean.

¹Address made before the Massachusetts Committee of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews at Boston, Mass., on May 6 (press release 235).

In the citation just read to me was the phrase "enlightened Americanism." That is one of the things I want to talk about tonight. It seems to me to be a peculiarly appropriate theme before this outstanding group who have for a number of years been practicing it with such marked effect.

The goal I believe most Americans seek is world brotherhood. But if we are to succeed in persuading men to accept the ideal of brotherhood universally, we shall have to demonstrate increasingly that it is attainable. You in Massachusetts have achieved a notable degree of brotherhood in a great community, and in so doing you are giving a practical demonstration of "enlightened Americanism."

Other communities throughout the country have in recent years shown a similar spirit. Our Nation as a whole has always progressively cherished tolerance, understanding, and the acceptance of minority groups both religious and racial. Some of this progress has come by law. But all of it has been possible only because the hearts of men have been warmed as their minds have been enlightened.

We have advanced toward brotherhood in the Western Hemisphere. No longer do many of our neighbors among the Republics of Latin America think of us apprehensively as the colossus of the North. Instead, we are "good neighbors." This relationship, as Secretary Dulles said a few weeks ago in Caracas, has been tried and tested over the years. It has worked. Indeed, it is held up today as a model. As you know, the Rio Pact of 1947 served as the pattern for the NATO Agreement—and I may add, although it is perhaps a dubious distinction, Mr. Molotov also took the wording of the Rio Pact and used it in phrasing the European Security pact which he offered in Berlin. The sham was quickly exposed when the Soviet Foreign Minister was reminded that words alone cannot make an agreement. "Peace," says the Rio Treaty, "is founded on justice and moral order and, consequently, on the international recognition and protection of human rights and freedoms. . . ."

In our hemisphere we are working to prove increasingly the substance underlying these words. It is, if you please, "enlightened Americanism" in action.

A great American statesman, Dr. Alberto Lleras Camargo, who has been President of the Republic of Colombia and Secretary-General of the Organization of American States, spoke these words at San Francisco when the nations of the world met in 1945 to draft and approve the charter of the United Nations:

None of the concepts of international law which govern the relations of the peoples of this hemisphere can be termed a typically American creation. But how much effort, how many wars, how much pain, how much misery has it cost European civilization for centuries to implant a principle which, among us, is accepted at a Pan Ameri-

can meeting as a natural accord of wills without opposition from any important national interest? We are not, because of this, better or worse, but more fortunate.

The great achievement of America and of the nations of the Americas has been the unity it has achieved and the civilization it has built on the bases of human dignity, mutual respect, and the God-given belief that the brotherhood of man is an achievable ideal. We are proud that not only tolerance but love of our fellow man is a part of our credo. And with humility we recognize that we are the beneficiaries, as Dr. Lleras has pointed out, of what the crucible of history has fashioned. The mission of our country, and of all the countries of the Americas, is to serve as a dynamic example which can benefit all of mankind.

The brotherhood of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, as evidenced by this gathering here in Boston, is symbolic of the love of our fellow man to be found throughout the broad reaches of our country, in the Western Hemisphere, and wherever in the world man looks out for his brother.

Influence of Moral Forces

Let us seek for a solution of man's basic problem: distrust of one another. This problem does not lie beyond our power of influence. For positive moral forces can exercise tremendous influence even in a world of tensions.

And, finally, since it is the individual who is so important, we can place our faith in him. By the acceptance of this principle it is a part of our belief that, unless they by their actions and will prove otherwise, all men are worthy of our trust. Because of this faith we can be sure that we shall never lack the leadership of, say a Lincoln or of a Bolivar, when gloom falls upon the stage of history.

It is on this same concept of justice and moral order, of international recognition and protection of human rights and freedom, that United States support of the United Nations rests. Throughout the 9 stormy years of the United Nations we have held steadfast to the ideal. And no less important, certainly, we have held, and will I think continue to hold, to belief in its attainability. As at home we found it possible to advance toward brotherhood by respecting the rights and points of view of others, so must we continue to work for international brotherhood.

In the meantime, and realism demands that we look ahead perhaps many years, we rely upon the coalition of the United States and other free nations and a buttressing of our collective security. For, as you know, not all members of the United Nations are dedicated to the concept of brotherhood.

Thus the United Nations reflects the kind of world in which we now live. A considerable majority of its members, including, of course, the United States, continue to aspire to the goal of

brotherhood. They want agreements, not wars. They want just political settlements and enduring peace. They long for a reduction of military forces and hope for eventual disarmament. Next week, in London, a subcommittee of the U.N. Disarmament Commission, including a United States representative, will consider again the complex problems in its field in an effort to find a constructive program.

Many have been disturbed by news of recent nuclear tests in the Pacific, with their indications of the tremendous destructive force of the weapons which might be employed in the future. How to deal with these awesome weapons is part and parcel of the whole disarmament program. Repeatedly, the overwhelming majority of the United Nations has recognized the sense of this point of view. It has rejected Soviet efforts to single out a particular kind of weapon for supposed elimination in exchange for a paper promise without any safeguards to compel the honoring of the promise.

It is worth recalling that when the United States had an absolute monopoly of atomic weapons, we offered to give up this monopoly in the interest of world peace—provided that there be an effective international control system which would protect all states against violations or evasions. This was rejected by the Soviet Union, even though it was accepted by almost all other members of the United Nations except the Soviet bloc.

U.S. Record on Disarmament

The United States record on disarmament is a good one. It is a record of persistent and sincere attempts, whether individually or joined by our closest allies, to find ways to ease the costly burden of armaments and lessen the threat of war. We tried in the Atomic Energy Commission. We tried in the Commission for Conventional Armaments. We tried in special meetings of the six powers most knowledgeable about atomic energy matters. We proposed the creation of the Disarmament Commission, to replace the Atomic Energy and Conventional Armaments Commissions and to take a fresh look at these difficult problems. We and our allies introduced proposal after proposal in the Disarmament Commission, only to have the Soviet Union refuse even to discuss them. It was the United Kingdom, France, and the United States which took the initiative recently to renew discussions in the Disarmament Commission and to set up the new subcommittee, now preparing to meet on May 13 in London, to carry on a fresh attempt to find workable solutions.

Our record is highlighted by the fact that, although we have put forward one proposal after another in unsuccessful efforts to reach agreements with the Soviet Union, we have not been adamant

in insisting that our proposals were the only valid ones. In this we have differed most notably from the U.S.S.R., which, while always insisting that its proposals were the only ones with any validity, has refused to explain them or to discuss their ambiguities. The United States has one test for any proposal—the test of effective safeguards to protect all nations from violations or evasions of an agreed disarmament program and to give adequate warning of any breach of these agreements. We have been ready, willing, even eager, to support any program that would reduce the danger of war and the fear of aggression, so long as it really protected the security of all nations.

President Eisenhower has promised that "this Government is ready to ask its people to join with all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of the savings achieved by disarmament to a fund for world aid and reconstruction. The purposes of this great work would be to help other peoples to develop the undeveloped areas of the world, to stimulate profitable and fair world trade, to assist all peoples to know the blessings of productive freedom."²

Our delegates in London next week have this goal before them. It is a goal founded in the concept of brotherhood.

The Role of the International Red Cross in War and Peace

Statement by Under Secretary Smith³

I very much welcome this opportunity to visit the headquarters of the League of Red Cross Societies and to pay homage to the immortal founder of the Red Cross, Henri Dunant, a Swiss national and a native of Geneva, on the 126th anniversary of his birth which is being observed today as International Red Cross Day.

Geneva has given much to the world. None of her contributions to the causes of humanity and peace has been greater than the Red Cross. To men of good will, it will ever stand as an inspiration in their striving for peace and understanding among nations.

²BULLETIN of Apr. 27, 1953, p. 602.

³Made at the headquarters of the League of Red Cross Societies, Geneva, on May 8 (released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the Geneva Conference).

Until the last, a heroic nurse trained by the Red Cross was the only woman at Dien-Bien-Phu to attend the wounded who could not be evacuated. She served the precise need envisioned by Henri Dunant at the Battle of Solferino. It was his idea that men wounded in battle should no longer be regarded as combatants—that they should receive care regardless of the uniform they wore. It is a pity that this humane principle is not always observed, even today.

I recall that it was an American, Henry P. Davison, who in 1919 started the Red Cross internationally on its peacetime work. He was the founder of this world Red Cross federation whose headquarters are in this building. My countrymen, over the years, in cooperation with other countries, have sought in a concrete and imaginative way to advance its aims of relieving the suffering of victims of disease, poverty, and natural disasters.

Examples of such efforts come to our attention repeatedly. In Greece today, thousands of men, women, and children made homeless by last week's earthquakes are receiving Red Cross aid. In the same way, victims of recent tornadoes in the United States are being helped. Month after month, in West Berlin, the German Red Cross has been sheltering and feeding the bulk of the thousands of refugees from the East who arrive with only the clothes on their backs in their quest for freedom. National Red Cross personnel, by unrelenting, selfless, and frequently heroic efforts over many years, have been instrumental in the relief of human suffering, regardless of race, creed, or political affiliations.

I join with you in the fervent hope that the day may not be far off when the Red Cross throughout the world can concentrate its energies on its peacetime task.

Visit of Haile Selassie

The Department of State announced on May 15 (press release 257) that arrangements were being completed for the visit of Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, who will visit the United States at the invitation of the President. The invitation was extended in 1953, the 50th year of U.S.-Ethiopian relations, to mark our appreciation of Ethiopian friendship and cooperation.

His Imperial Majesty will arrive at Washington on May 26 and remain 3 days. He will go via Princeton, N.J., to New York City, and then make a tour of several weeks through the United States. He will also visit Canada and Mexico.

The Near East and the West

by Eric Johnston

Special Representative of the President¹

Six years have passed since the United Nations partitioned Palestine between the Arabs and the Jews.

They have been 6 years of tension, unabated bitterness and recurrent bloodshed.

They have been 6 years of constant, painstaking searching for the way to peace.

But there is still no peace in Palestine.

The dispute between the Arab States and the State of Israel remains a sputtering fuse that might at any time touch off world war in the atomic age. This is one certainty in the whole complex and perilous situation—the certainty of danger to the world. Another is the certainty that the nations of the world cannot permit the danger to persist.

But after 6 years of fruitless searching, which way may we look for a solution? It is all too apparent that political rapprochement between Israel and her Arab neighbors is no likelier today than it was last year or the year before. Time has had little healing influence; the breach is as wide as ever. Instead of abating, tensions have mounted—recently almost to the breaking point. If reconciliation is possible, and we must believe that it is, we must also, unfortunately, admit that it is not likely to come easily or soon.

Nor will it come all at once. The impasse that has defied every effort of the United Nations for the last 6 years is not going to melt suddenly away. It will give way gradually, if at all—bit by bit, and in response to mounting pressures from inside the region as well as to influences from outside.

In these circumstances, it seems to me that the U.S. policy of "sympathetic and impartial friendship," as the President recently stated it, must contemplate two simultaneous methods of approach. It must envisage our continued active participation in United Nations efforts to bring about a final and durable settlement between Israel and the Arab world; and it must look to the more immediate objective of removing or

reducing the points of controversy that keep the quarrel alive.

This means that while we try, in concert with other nations of the West, to achieve an ultimate political settlement, we must exert every reasonable effort to remove present irritants and causes of tension.

Mission to Middle East

Some months ago, President Eisenhower entrusted me with a mission to the Middle East—a special mission calculated to help relieve some of the more acute reasons for tension between the Arab countries and Israel. I welcome the opportunity to explain the nature of this mission to you here tonight. But before I do so there are one or two things I would like to say by way of background.

First, I believe it is necessary to deal with the situation as it now exists. We are confronted by what is; not by what might have been. The conflict between Arab and Jew in the Near East goes back to dim antiquity, and it seems important to define the area of our discussion in time, as clearly as it is defined in geography.

We must start, it seems to me, with November 1947 when the decision of the United Nations to partition Palestine brought a new factor into the ancient quarrel between Arab and Jew. That factor was the State of Israel. Its birth, at the end of the British Mandate, transformed a dispute between two groups of people into a dispute between sovereign states. Historians may forever debate the wisdom of the United Nations decision to partition the mandated territory of Palestine; they may quarrel endlessly, as they will, over the early recognition accorded Israel by the United States.

But the reality is that such a solution *was* adopted, that Israel *was* created and recognized, and that it *does* exist today as a full-fledged member of the community of nations. The only valid assumption, and one of the basic considerations of American policy in the region, is that it will continue to exist.

¹ Address made in the University Lecture Series, at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., on May 6 (press release 230 dated May 5).

Equally basic is our disposition to be friends with the people of the Arab world. Our attitude toward the State of Israel may be distasteful to them and, in many respects, their point of view is at least understandable. But just as important, just as real, just as positive, is our attitude toward the Arab peoples—and it is an attitude of sincere friendship, genuine interest in their growth, and wholehearted willingness to help them achieve their noblest national aspirations.

Second, I believe it is important to understand the considerations underlying this American policy of friendship for both sides. I think they are compounded of self-interest and our own growing sense of responsibility for free world leadership.

Dangers in Arab-Israel Tensions

The danger to world peace in the Middle East is clear to us all. The unrelenting antagonism between the Arab States and Israel is an invitation to mischiefmakers in the Kremlin. No one can say how swiftly or in what direction the flame of open war between Arab and Jew might spread. But no one can doubt that the strategists of communism would be quick to fan the flame. Chaos is their ally.

But open war between the nations of the Near East is not the only danger. The more subtle, if not graver, peril lies in the retrogressive effect of Arab-Israel tensions. Throughout the region, as in many other areas of the world, there is a new, insistent demand for progress, evident in mass unrest and political instabilities. This unrest has its origins more in social and economic than in political problems.

Much of American foreign economic policy today is premised on the assumption that healthy social progress is the most effective antidote to the Communist virus, which, in common with its bacteriological cousins, strikes hardest at rundown, poorly nourished systems. For this reason, we have undertaken a global effort to help less advanced peoples help themselves toward a better and more rewarding life. But in the Middle East, the continuing tension between Israel and her Arab neighbors is a massive barrier to economic development and the kind of progress we believe the people of the region must and can achieve.

To cite just one example, the countries of the Middle East—and I include them all—need capital. Most of all, they need private investment capital, with its attendant technical know-how and skilled management, to develop natural resources and start a cycle of industrial activity. As Chairman of the International Development Advisory Board for almost 3 years, I have had occasion to look into the investment potentials of the Middle East. Considerable as I believe them to be, it is abundantly clear that private investors in this or any other country are not going

to put money into a region that might be plunged into war at any time.

Until there is rapprochement between the nations of the region, social progress is going to be slow. Until there is progress, mass discontent will not abate but swell. While the discontent persists, the ground remains fertile for the seeds of communism. They are being sown there now.

American interest in the region stems also, of course, from strategic considerations having to do with both geography and resources. Many times through the course of history, this ancient land linking Asia with Europe and North Africa has served as a bridge for conquerors from both East and West. It is the Eastern land approach to the Suez Canal. Over it lies the route of major international airlines. Beneath the sand of its desert wastes lies an immense pool of oil important to the Western World and potentially useful to Russia and her Eastern European satellites.

When the development of atomic energy for military and economic application will affect these strategic considerations, I certainly do not know. It is conceivable that the adaptation of atomic energy to industrial purposes may diminish somewhat the industrial and military importance of oil in the foreseeable future. But for the present, we may only assume that the Near East remains, in all respects, a crucial area.

It is against this background of American Middle Eastern policy that the objectives of the mission given me by the President must be weighed.

The President asked me, as his Ambassador, to open discussions with four countries—Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel—about the possibility of developing the physical and economic resources of the Jordan River Valley for the benefit of man.

Importance of the Jordan River

Now the Jordan is not much of a river, as we in America think of rivers. About 200 miles long, it rises in the mountains of the Lebanon, drops swiftly into Lake Tiberias, and then flows through a sub-sea-level valley to the salt Dead Sea. But in the arid Middle East, water is life. If the Jordan is small by our standards of comparison, its waters are as precious as petroleum—far more precious than we, sitting here tonight “high above Cayuga’s waters,” are likely to appreciate. And if the river has rolled through the centuries a wasted stream, modern science can now make it a rich potential source of fertility and power in a valley that sorely needs both.

But the Jordan—and herein lies the difficulty—is an international stream. Four states—Israel, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria—have some claim to its waters. In the context of the Arab-Israel dispute, the river thus becomes a source of con-

stant friction and potential strife. The Jordan Valley lies at the very heart of the political tensions which keep the whole Middle East in a state of perilous ferment and discord.

Neither Israel, in a hurry to get on with its own development, nor the Arab countries, alive with pressures for economic and social progress, are likely to sit idly by and watch the precious waters of the Jordan go on gliding by unused. But unless a mutually acceptable formula can be found for dividing the water fairly among them, any attempt by one country to harness the stream for its own use will be an explosive provocation to the others.

Even more important, perhaps, is the fact that the Jordan, harnessed for irrigation, would provide a livelihood on the land for thousands of Arabs displaced from their former homes in Palestine by the terrible events of recent years.

Living in camps maintained by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, or in caves or primitive huts, these unhappy people have for 6 years borne the brunt of misfortune deriving from the conflict between the Arab nations and Israel. Today thousands of them are homeless, landless, penniless, and increasingly hopeless.

In the Jordan Valley, on lands watered through modern irrigation canals, many of these people could be given a new economic stake and the dignity of independence once again. While it would not solve the whole problem of the Arab refugees, who number more than 800,000, settlement in the Jordan Valley would at least ameliorate the tension. It would ease the burning sense of frustration and resentment they now feel after 6 long years of displacement and defeated hope.

If accepted by all four of the states concerned, therefore, a comprehensive program for developing the Jordan River basin would do several things: first, it would form the basis for an equitable allocation of the available waters and thus take the river out of the area of controversy; second, it would mark at least the beginning of a constructive, practical, and long overdue solution of the refugee problem, and thus help to clear the atmosphere of bitterness and resentment; third, it would contribute to a general rise in economic levels and thus help to promote social progress in the region.

Perhaps nowhere in the world would a program of water and power development produce greater tangible and intangible benefit. In terms of human welfare and of world peace, the dams and irrigation works involved would have a value wholly out of proportion to the geographic size and importance of the valley itself.

Now just what was it that I proposed to the Arab States and Israel 5 months ago?

Actually, it was not a "plan," but a broad conception of what might be done, offered as a basis for discussion and negotiation. In outline, the

core of the idea is to use Lake Tiberias as a natural storage reservoir for the waters of the Jordan and its principal tributary, the Yarmuk. These waters would be released through a system of canals for all-year irrigation in the lower valley. Israel's share would be drawn mainly from headwaters upstream from Tiberias.

Scope of Suggested Project

Thus harnessed and controlled, the waters of the Jordan system would provide steady year-round irrigation for a total of some 234,000 acres of land not now irrigated in the watershed—much of it capable of producing crops all year round. Some 38,000 kilowatts of electric energy could be produced through a power installation on the Yarmuk and some 27,000 kilowatts at another plant near Tel Hai in Israel.

In the original proposals advanced 5 months ago, tentative yearly allocations of water were suggested: 426 million cubic meters to irrigate 104,000 acres in Israel; 829 million cubic meters to irrigate 122,500 acres in Jordan; and 50 million cubic meters to water 7,500 acres in Syria. These, however, were subject to discussion and possible revision on the basis of detailed engineering studies and other considerations.

By way of comparison and as an indication of the size and economic value of the project, however, it is slightly larger than the 225,000-acre Salt River project near Phoenix, Arizona. This is three-crop land, generally comparable to much of the area that can be irrigated in the Jordan Valley. The gross value of the crops grown in the Salt River project is \$60,690,000 a year. That is a crop income of \$268 an acre. The city of Phoenix is largely supported by this revenue from the irrigated farming lands around it.

Up in my native Pacific Northwest, the largest of all U.S. irrigation projects is in the Columbia River Basin where 1,000,000 acres will be irrigated by water from Grand Coulee Dam. This is one-crop land. Assuming that two-thirds of the Jordan Valley's irrigable land, or about 150,000 acres, is three-crop land, the project, in terms of crop production, would be approximately half as large as our largest American irrigation operation.

None of the details of the idea I put forward on behalf of the President last November were fixed in a rigid pattern or an ironclad plan. We did not offer a take-it-or-leave-it proposition. On my first visit to the area in connection with my mission, I merely asked the Governments of Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Israel to consider the idea of total valley development on its merits as an economic proposition, outside the context of the political issues between them. I assured them of American interest in the project and of American support and assistance in carrying it out, if the principle were accepted.

And the principle is, of course, the most important thing. Our main concern, at this stage, is to establish a sound, mutually acceptable basis for sharing the water among the states which claim it. This requires an acknowledgement on their part that the Jordan and its tributaries constitute an international river system and that there must be some kind of understanding as to who is entitled to how much of the water. Once this fundamental understanding has been reached, it becomes a question of engineering the dams and power plants through which the waters can be put to the best use for the refugees and the people of the states concerned.

Need for International Supervision

Because the political situation in the area makes cooperation between the Arab States and Israel impossible at the present time, the proposed system of waterworks in the valley would require international administration and supervision. Eventually, if a total valley program became reality, some kind of valley water authority, probably under the United Nations, would have to be created. But here again, once the basic question of principle has been accepted, the elaboration of a suitable mechanism for international supervision would seem to present no insurmountable difficulties.

To my mind, the most interesting aspect of the whole idea, however, is that it is still alive—not merely alive but, if I may say so, kicking! Considering the state of hypertension in the area at the present time, no one, least of all myself, would have been surprised if my original approach to the valley states had met with a flat and final rejection. But to the contrary—despite many a misleading news dispatch—the Arab nations and Israel have shown marked and unmistakable interest. None of them has accepted the proposal yet. But if they have not said yes, neither have they said no—and in that fact, under the circumstances, there is a genuine basis for encouragement.

The Arab countries appointed a special committee of Arab engineering experts to examine our original suggestions. Their reactions and suggestions have now been presented to us and their report represents serious and constructive effort to give the idea the consideration it deserves.

Israel has so far been receptive in principle and noncommittal in detail. Our Embassy at Tel Aviv has just obtained Israel's comments and reactions and they are on the way to Washington, where we will study them carefully.

Toward the end of this month, after we have digested and analyzed the reports of Arabian and Israeli experts, it is my intention to return to the Near East for further discussions. Through these negotiations, it may—and I want to emphasize the word *may*—be possible to put together a workable plan for the Jordan River system which all of the valley states can accept, despite continuing political differences between them.

Whether we succeed in doing so or not, President Eisenhower—for I am only his Ambassador—will have made an effort dedicated to the proposition that economic stability and social progress—a more secure, better standard of life for people—are the surest and most powerful bulwarks of peace and freedom in the world. It is a demonstration of our good will toward all the nations of the area—a practical, commonsense, constructive example of what the President meant when he stated our policy to be one of "sympathetic and impartial friendship."

Visit of Japanese Expert on Atomic Disease

Press release 254 dated May 14

Dr. Masao Tsuzuki, a noted Japanese expert on atomic disease, will arrive in Washington on May 16 to consult with U.S. scientists and officials of the Department of State and the Atomic Energy Commission. Dr. Tsuzuki, who has recently participated in an International Red Cross Conference at Geneva and a medical convention in Germany, will spend about 2 weeks here before returning to Japan. It is anticipated that Dr. Tsuzuki will be given access to the best available U.S. knowledge concerning diagnosis and treatment of radiation illness and cancer. He will have an opportunity to visit the Brookhaven and Argonne National Laboratories and hospitals in Boston and Chicago.

Dr. Tsuzuki has had an exceptionally busy and varied career in medicine. From 1927-46, he served as a professor in the Faculty of Medicine at Tokyo University. He has been distinguished for his work in oral surgery, chest surgery, and radiation illness. The latter has been his major interest since August of 1945 when he was appointed head of a Japanese Government survey group to study effects of the A-bomb. At the end of the Occupation, he was appointed head of a new Japanese Atomic Bomb and Casualty Research Committee.

The North Atlantic Ocean Stations Agreement

by Ernest A. Lister

Relatively few people outside the fields of aviation and meteorology are aware that a network of floating stations has been in existence in the North Atlantic for more than 10 years. Yet this network has been considered sufficiently important to receive the continued support of virtually all nations whose airlines operate between North America and Europe. It constitutes a significant example of international cooperation in promoting the safety, regularity, and efficiency of trans-Atlantic flying.

An ocean station is a fixed point at or near which vessels are continuously posted on a rotation basis. Such vessels are specially manned and equipped to provide weather observation, search and rescue, and air navigation and communication services. Meteorological information is reported regularly to aircraft in flight and to weather forecasting services on both sides of the Atlantic. United States participation is effected through the operation of U. S. Coast Guard vessels.

The United States and the United Kingdom had maintained an extensive network in the North Atlantic during World War II for military reasons. This system was virtually disbanded after the war but the need for ocean stations became pressing again with the advent of large-scale airline operations between North America and Europe. A requirement for the establishment and operation of an ocean weather stations program was first officially recognized at the PICAO¹ North Atlantic Route Service Conference held in Dublin in March 1946.

At the First Conference on North Atlantic Ocean Stations (London, September 1946) an agreement was drawn up for the 3-year period July 1, 1947-June 30, 1950, with provision for its modification and renewal at a subsequent meeting in 1949. This agreement provided for the operation of a 13-station network with the United States responsible for 7½ stations. The Second Conference (London, April 20-May 12, 1949) drew up

a new agreement establishing a 10-station network, the United States accepting responsibility for 5½ stations, or 14 out of the 25 vessels required. This agreement was to cover the 3 years from July 1, 1950, to June 30, 1953, but it was extended by a protocol, dated May 28, 1952, for a further period of 1 year.

Under the terms of this protocol a Third Conference was to be convened prior to October 1, 1953. The Third Conference (Brighton, England, July 8-15, 1953) was limited to financial and administrative matters only. The principal problem facing the Conference was the redistribution of operating and cash responsibilities among the states concerned. This was a natural consequence of changes which had taken place since 1949 in the relative number of North Atlantic crossings made by airlines of the various countries. The pro rata share of the United States had decreased from 14 to approximately 11 vessels if a 10-station program were to be continued. It soon became clear at the Third Conference, however, that European operating states were not ready to commit themselves to providing and maintaining three additional vessels to replace those no longer available from the United States.

Being limited to financial and administrative matters, the Third Conference was debarred from examining the possibility of reducing the number of stations. It recommended, therefore, that a full conference be convened to review the whole problem of North Atlantic Ocean Stations in order to:

(a) Determine the number of stations and vessels which would be technically adequate for international civil air navigation in the North Atlantic region and practicable within the collective resources available, and

(b) Determine and agree upon responsibilities for the operation and financing of the scheme.

The Fourth Conference

The Fourth ICAO Conference on North Atlantic Ocean Stations was held in Paris, February 9-24,

¹ Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization, predecessor to ICAO, the International Civil Aviation Organization.

1954. The following 16 governments were represented:

Belgium	The Netherlands
Canada	Norway
Denmark	Spain
France	Sweden
Iceland	Switzerland
Ireland	United Kingdom
Israel	United States
Italy	Venezuela (observer only)

Observers representing the following international organizations participated in the Conference:

International Airline Navigators Council
International Air Transport Association
International Association of Physical Oceanography
International Federation of Air Line Pilots Associations
International Federation of Independent Air Transport
World Meteorological Organization

The United States was represented by the following delegation:

E. A. Lister (Department of State), Chairman and Delegate
Capt. W. E. Oberholtzer (Navy), Vice Chairman and Delegate
Capt. A. J. Hesford (Coast Guard), Alternate Delegate
Capt. E. K. Rhodes (Coast Guard), Alternate Delegate
Lt. Col. J. W. Baska (Air Force), Alternate Delegate
D. W. Little (Weather Bureau), Alternate Delegate
E. Thomas Burnard (Air Transport Association), Adviser

Conference work was carried on through Executive, Technical, Financial, and Drafting Committees. The Executive Committee, composed of heads of delegations, met briefly the opening day of the Conference to approve rules of procedure and to consider amendments to the provisional agenda. Several working groups and working parties were set up by the Financial and Technical Committees.

Number and Location of Stations

The Technical Committee agreed early in its proceedings that, in principle, a 10-station network was highly desirable in order to provide the desired meteorological services. Based on advice received from the Financial Committee that the vessels required to operate such a network were not likely to be available, however, the Committee considered various proposals for a 9-station network. It found that the following two alternatives were acceptable from the technical point of view:

(a) Eliminate Station "H" between New York and Bermuda and retain the other 9 positions substantially as they exist under the 1949 agreement; or

(b) Eliminate Station "E" between Bermuda and the Azores with some adjustment southward in the locations of Stations "C" and "D."

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Alternative (a), favored by the United States, finally received seven votes in the Technical Committee against six for the second proposal.

The Financial Committee, after examining economic and general policy aspects of the two alternatives, recommended a 9-station network with "H" eliminated. This plan was adopted by the Conference and forms the basis for the new agreement. Station locations are as follows:

Station	Location
A	62°00N 33°00W
B	56°30N 51°00W
C	52°45N 35°30W
D	44°00N 41°00W
E	35°00N 48°00W
I	59°00N 19°00W
J	52°30N 20°00W
K	45°00N 16°00W
M	66°00N 02°00E

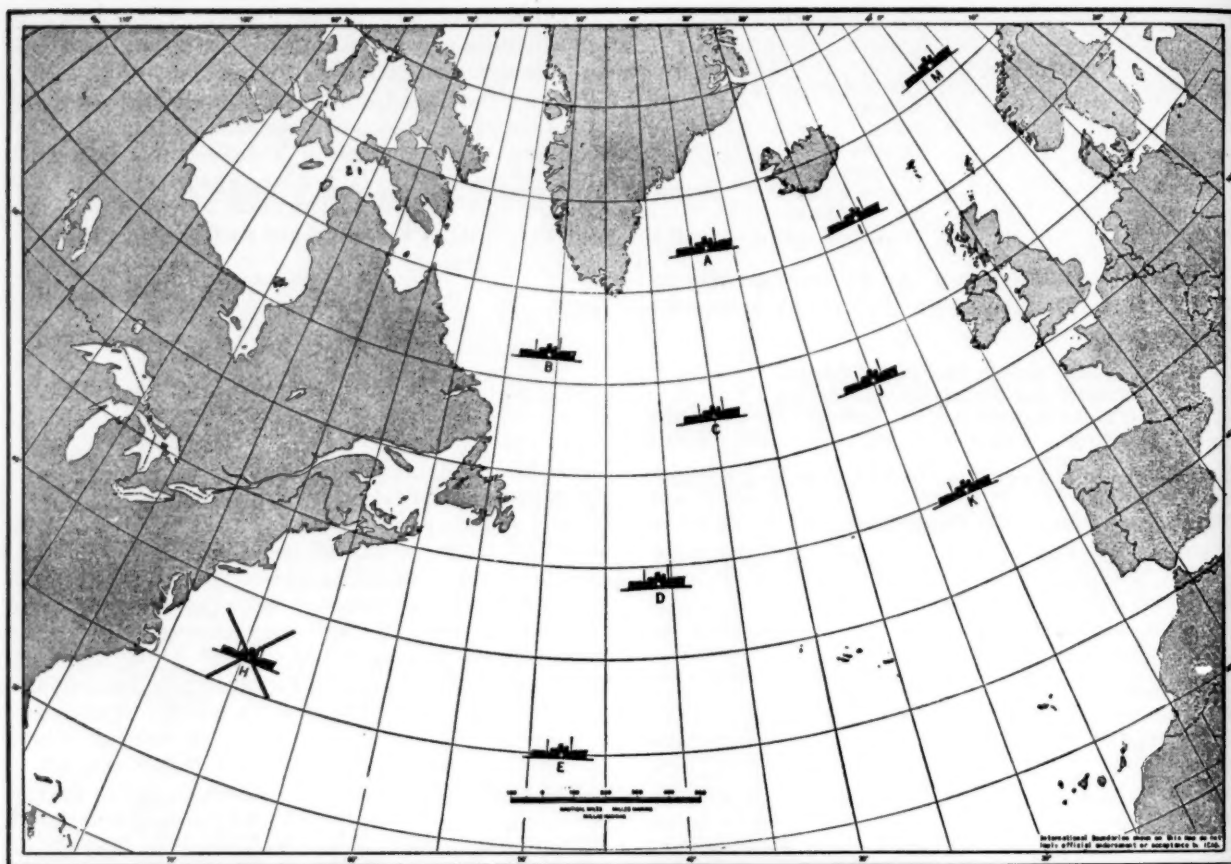
Station "I" will return to the location originally specified in the 1949 agreement, after a minor change in 1953. The other eight stations are to remain unchanged.

Allocation of Responsibilities

The Conference agreed that the responsibilities of states should be broadly in proportion to the benefits derived by them from the existence of the ocean stations and that the operating costs should be borne by all states in accordance with these benefits. It also decided that any difference between the actual and theoretical responsibility of states operating ships should, insofar as possible, be adjusted by cash reimbursements or contributions.

Civil aircraft crossings for 1953, the most recent annual period for which statistics were available, were taken as a working basis for establishing the benefits derived by states from the program. United States aircraft made 6,463 crossings during this period, just over 41 percent of the total of 15,713. This compares with the 64 percent figure used in establishing the United States contribution under the 1946 agreement, and 56 percent for the 1949 agreement.

In previous conferences the United States and Canada had urged that operating and financial responsibilities be assessed partly on the basis of benefits derived by states in fields other than trans-



Atlantic flying. These include meteorological observations which are needed for general weather forecasting services in countries surrounding the North Atlantic, observations useful to maritime interests, and guarding of radio distress frequencies for surface shipping. This concept had always been rejected, however, and both the First and Second Conferences led to agreements with theoretical responsibilities related solely to the number of North Atlantic crossings by aircraft of each participating state.

At the Fourth Conference the United States and Canada again took the lead in urging tangible recognition of the fact that weather movements in the North Atlantic are generally from west to east and that Western Europe therefore receives proportionately greater benefits from the ocean stations network than do North American states. Some European delegations again opposed recognition of nonaeronautical benefits, but the majority were prepared to modify their previous position. It was finally agreed that benefits derived from the North Atlantic Ocean Stations Program are approximately 80 percent aeronautical and 20 percent nonaeronautical. The ratio of aggregate nonaeronautical benefits under the 9-station program was set at 75 percent for Europe to 25 percent for North America.

Spain urged that responsibilities be calculated on a reduced basis for flights across the southern portion of the North Atlantic, claiming that fewer benefits are derived from the Ocean Stations Program in that sector. After considerable discussion in the Technical Committee, the Conference rejected this proposal as one which would unnecessarily complicate the already difficult process of calculating and assessing responsibilities.

The Conference drew up the following schedule of theoretical responsibilities covering all participating states and those whose aircraft were deemed to receive benefits from the network:

<i>Operating States</i>	<i>Combined % of Aeronautical and Nonaeronautical Benefits</i>
United States.....	37.16
United Kingdom.....	15.29
Netherlands.....	10.12
France.....	7.99
Norway (and Sweden).....	7.31
Canada.....	4.60
<i>Cash Contributing States</i>	
Belgium.....	4.29
Switzerland.....	3.03
Denmark.....	2.76
Italy.....	2.02
Spain.....	1.59
Israel.....	1.24
Cuba.....	0.87
Portugal.....	0.79
Iceland.....	0.47
Colombia.....	0.47

As in previous conferences, it was recognized as virtually impossible to assess actual contributions strictly in accordance with a theoretical scale. In the first place, there were only 21 vessels physically available for the scheme, divided as follows among six states:

United States.....	10
United Kingdom.....	4
France.....	2
Netherlands.....	2
Norway (and Sweden).....	2
Canada.....	1

Some other states expressed an interest in operating additional ships if they could be obtained. This possibility, however, did not materialize. Another major stumbling block was the great difference in operating costs reported by various operating states, together with the foreign exchange difficulties which would be involved in making cash transfers outside the European area. After careful examination of all possibilities, the Conference agreed that the only practicable way to maintain 9 stations with 21 ships would be to assign to the United States and Canada, with 11 vessels, the four stations nearest their shores (B, C, D, and E), leaving it to states outside North America to operate and finance the other 5 stations (A, I, J, K, and M).

A working group of maritime experts developed a feasible plan for manning the latter 5 stations with 10 vessels on a systematic rotation of patrols and relief duty. This insured that the operational responsibilities would be shared on an approximately equal basis by European vessels. A working group of the Financial Committee worked out an acceptable plan whereby cash contributions by Belgium, Denmark, Israel, Italy, and Switzerland would be divided among the four European operating states in proportion to operations in excess of their theoretical responsibilities.

The new agreement, which is subject to acceptance by signatory governments, has been signed by 13 countries: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Ireland, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Spain and Iceland participated in the Conference but did not sign the agreement. They indicated their willingness, however, to make financial contributions in support of the program. The Conference expressed the hope that these two states, and others which derive benefits from the network, would find it possible to become parties to the agreement.

Entry Into Force and Duration

The agreement will come into force not earlier than July 1, 1954, when instruments of acceptance have been deposited with ICAO by governments responsible for the operation of at least 15 vessels. It is to run for an initial period of 2 years from

July 1, 1954, with provision for automatic extension one year at a time unless denounced by one or more states responsible in the aggregate for at least two vessels, in cash or in kind. To safeguard the interests of all participants, the agreement provides that any state is entitled to withdraw from the scheme as of June 30 in any year upon 12 months' prior notice. In such cases the Council of ICAO is to seek arrangements for redistributing the obligations of withdrawing states and, if necessary, call a new conference. As under previous agreements, the ICAO Council is to coordinate the general program of operating the stations in consultation with the states concerned and with such other international organizations as it considers appropriate. The Council is to keep the World Meteorological Organization advised of the meteorological aspects of any action which it proposes to take.

On or before March 1, 1955, each participating state is to furnish ICAO with statistics of North Atlantic crossings by its civil aircraft in 1955. European operating states are also to submit cost data for their ships during 1954. Upon receipt of this information the Council will review the relationship between costs of European operating states and the amount of cash which should be available. If it considers it necessary to establish a more equitable distribution of responsibilities among the states concerned, the Council is to calculate a revision of the obligations to pay and the right to receive cash in accordance with the principles on which the new agreement is based.

Finally, the Conference requested the Council of ICAO, in consultation with interested states and with other international bodies, to explore all possibilities of further improvements in the efficiency and economy of the ocean stations network, and of less expensive ways and means of obtaining a sufficiently high standard of meteorological information in the North Atlantic.

•*Mr. Lister, author of the above article, is Special Assistant, Office of Transport and Communications Policy, and served as chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Fourth ICAO Conference on North Atlantic Ocean Stations.*

Liberian President To Visit U.S.

White House press release dated May 13

President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia has accepted an invitation from President Eisenhower to visit the United States in the autumn of 1954. The Liberian President and his party are expected to arrive in Washington in the latter part of October.

In issuing the invitation, President Eisenhower recalled the traditional bonds and warm feelings which unite Liberia and the United States and emphasized the admiration of his fellow citizens for the achievements of Liberia and for the role it plays in Africa.

St. Lawrence Seaway Bill Signed Into Law

The President on May 13 signed the St. Lawrence Seaway Bill, "providing for creation of the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation to construct part of the Saint Lawrence Seaway in United States territory in the interest of national security; authorizing the Corporation to consummate certain arrangements with the Saint Lawrence Seaway Authority of Canada relative to construction and operation of the seaway; empowering the Corporation to finance the United States share of the seaway cost on a self-liquidating basis; to establish cooperation with Canada in the control and operation of the Saint Lawrence Seaway; to authorize negotiations with Canada of an agreement on tolls; and for other purposes" (S. Doc. 2150).

Among those present at the signing ceremony at the White House were the Canadian Ambassador, A. D. P. Heeney; Sen. Alexander Wiley, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; Sen. Homer Ferguson, member of the Foreign Relations Committee; and Rep. George A. Dondero, chairman of the Committee on Public Works of the House of Representatives. Following are texts of remarks made at the ceremony.

White House press release dated May 13

President Eisenhower

I am very happy, in the presence of this distinguished company, to sign this bill.

I think it is particularly fortunate that we have with us the Ambassador from Canada, because this bill is intended to set in motion the great project which will operate to the benefit of both our countries.

This marks, of course, the legislative culmination of an effort that has taken 30 years to reach this point. Now work can begin on the great project itself. That work, we all hope, will progress rapidly without interruption to a successful completion, so that the benefits of this great project can come to all our people on both sides of that great river.

Senator Wiley

Mr. President, I want to congratulate you. History will now record that at long last the dream—yes, the hope, of countless millions is being fulfilled.

Back of us stands the Ambassador of Canada. It is a symbol that we are united in the greatest effort the two nations ever undertook, in building a waterway here that will mean happiness, health, and prosperity for countless millions to come.

Across the river we have held hands. Now we cannot part. We are one in a great adventure—to build for the future of America.

I congratulate you and the American people.

Senator Ferguson

Mr. President, Mr. Ambassador, Members of Congress: This is really a great occasion. I know it will be historic because it is a symbol of friendship between the United States and our friend, Canada, to the north.

Coming from Michigan, one of the border States, this has been a dream for many years. Mr. President, when we look at this map we can see that soon transportation can come into the heartland of America. Transportation, whether it be by ship, plane, railroad, truck, or automobile, is the lifeblood of commerce and trade. And I know that history will say that we today were looking into the future.

It means a better United States and a better world, I am sure. This occasion is really one that we can all be happy about—that this administration could bring this about.

Representative Dondero

Mr. President, the people of the United States, through their Congress, have determined that they will participate with their good neighbor to the north, Canada, in the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway. It has been the dream of many decades. It is one of the greatest waterways in the world and will be one of the great arteries of commerce in the world. I think that it will contribute much to the economic welfare and also to the national defense of both the United States and Canada.

Mr. President, five of your predecessors advocated and endorsed the building of the St. Lawrence Seaway. It has been delayed 30 or 40 years, and now under your great leadership this mighty project, the master project of the North American Continent, is to become a reality.

I want to add just one more thought, and that is this: that in the days to come, the American people, the Canadian people, the Continent of North America, will receive great benefit from what we are doing now.

I am proud to be a Member of the 83d Congress, to have had some part in bringing this very happy day about, as Chairman of the Committee on Public Works of the House of Representatives.

To you, Mr. President, and your administration, must go the credit for bringing about the beginning of this great project. Only one thing remains now, to make the seaway an assured fact, and that is your signature to the bill before you.

The Refugee Relief Program: A Challenge to Voluntary Social Agencies

by Frank L. Auerbach

Special Assistant to the Director of the Visa Office¹

The Refugee Relief Act, which became law with the President's signature on August 7, 1953, and remains in effect until January 1, 1957, attempts to help refugees from Communist persecution, natural disaster, and military operations to come to the United States as immigrants. It also contributes to the solution of problems resulting from population pressures in Italy, Greece, and Holland by facilitating the immigration from those countries of certain close relatives of American citizens and permanent resident aliens. In addition, the act facilitates the immigration of orphans and permits certain aliens already in the United States as nonimmigrants to become permanent residents of the United States. The maximum number of aliens who may benefit from the act's provisions is 214,000.

The important feature of the new act is that it permits these 214,000 aliens to become permanent residents of the United States without being subject to the quota limitations of our regular immigration laws. In other words, aliens coming to the United States under the Refugee Relief Act may come in addition to those who are permitted to enter under the Immigration and Nationality Act.

For the benefit of those who so far have had no or little contact with the new act, I should like to summarize briefly its more important provisions.

There are four distinct groups of aliens who may benefit by the act and four distinct procedures have to be followed. The largest group, 186,000 out of 214,000, are refugees, expellees, and escapees from Communist persecution, natural disaster, and military operations, both in Europe and Asia. Visas to 90,000 of these refugees, escapees, and expellees may be issued in the German Federal Republic, the Western Sector of Berlin, or in Austria; 10,000 in the territory of the member

nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on the European Continent and in Turkey, Sweden, Iran, and Trieste; 45,000 in Italy, 15,000 in Greece, 15,000 in Holland, 2,000 in the Near East, 5,000 in the Far East, and another 2,000 each to Polish veterans and Chinese refugees regardless of their place of residence at the time of visa application. Refugees within this group could be escapees from behind the Iron Curtain, victims of floods in Holland or of earthquakes in Greece.

In order to bring a refugee or escapee to the United States, assurances of employment, housing, and against becoming a public charge must be given by citizens of the United States. Special assurance forms have been prepared by the Department of State which are to be used by citizen sponsors. Different assurance forms are to be used depending on whether the sponsor knows the alien he wishes to bring to the United States or if he designates only the skills and qualifications such alien should have but relies on a voluntary social agency or another agent to select for him an alien having these qualifications.

The degree to which statements contained in these assurances have to be corroborated by additional evidence such as statements from employers, bank letters, copies of income-tax returns, et cetera, depends on whether the assurance is endorsed by one of the voluntary social agencies recognized for this purpose. If one of the some 20 recognized agencies underwrites an assurance prepared by an individual citizen, generally speaking, the agency's underwriting relieves the sponsor of the necessity of procuring documentation corroborating his public charge and housing assurance.

Italian, Greek, and Dutch Relatives

The second largest group of aliens benefiting from the Refugee Relief Act are certain close relatives of American citizens in Italy, Greece, and Holland who qualify for preference quota status under our regular immigration laws. Fifteen thousand Italian relatives, 2,000 Greek relatives,

¹ Address made before the Common Council for American Unity and the National Conference on Naturalization and Citizenship at Atlantic City, N.J., on May 11 (press release 239 dated May 10).

and 2,000 Dutch relatives are in this group, which includes parents, brothers, and sisters of American citizens as well as sons and daughters of American citizens who are not entitled to nonquota status, being married or over 21 years of age; and finally, husbands, wives, and children of permanent resident aliens in the United States. The significance of the Refugee Relief Act in relation to this group of aliens is that many of them, due to the quota limitations of our regular immigration laws, would have to anticipate a waiting period of many years before they could come to this country while under the Refugee Relief Act, within the numerical limits provided therein, they may come as soon as they fulfill the requirements of the law.

Visas Issued in the Netherlands Under Refugee Relief Act

Press release 256 dated May 14

The following information was received on May 14 from the American Embassy at The Hague:

Scott McLeod, Administrator of the Refugee Relief Act, today presented to a family of eight the first Public Law 203 (the Refugee Relief Act) visas issued in the Netherlands in a ceremony at the Rotterdam U.S. Consulate. The immigrants, whose departure date has not yet been set, are: Jan Koetsier, 56, cattle breeder of Mijdrecht, Utrecht Province; his wife, Christina, 55; their sons Jan, Jr., 24, Teunis, 22; Gerard, 21; Jakob, 13; and daughters Marrigje, 20, and Christina, 17.

The sponsor is Koetsier's son Henry, 25, a dairy owner who resides at Buena Park, Calif., who immigrated to the United States on October 31, 1947, and was naturalized October 14, 1953.

The Koetsiers, who were on the regular quota waiting list, applied for admission to the United States under Public Law 203 on March 31, 1954.

The procedure to be followed in the case of these Italian, Greek, and Dutch relatives differs materially from that followed in the case of refugees and escapees. Petition forms required for these relatives under the regular immigration laws are filed and in many cases have been approved for some time by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice. The Service verifies the evidence of the relationship between the relative petitioner in this country and the alien abroad and notifies the Department of State of its findings. The Department then authorizes the American consular officer abroad to grant preference quota status to the alien. In addition, the relative in this country submits to the consular officer the usual evidence of support, such as an affidavit of support or a contract for employment. The assurances of employment, housing, and against becoming a public charge prescribed for refugees and escapees are not required in connection with the immigration of these relatives.

Italian and Greek relatives are expected to benefit primarily from this provision. It is worth noting that spouses and children of brothers, sisters, sons, and daughters of American citizens who are not entitled to quota preferences under the regular immigration laws are entitled to consideration under the Refugee Relief Act, a significant effort to prevent the separation of families in migration.

The third group of immigrants who may benefit from the Refugee Relief Act are orphans. Four thousand orphans in any part of the world, adopted abroad or to be adopted in the United States, by an American citizen and spouse may be issued immigrant visas under the Refugee Relief Act. Proper caution is being exercised by those administering the law to plan for the immigration of orphans in such way that the needs of the child are protected as much as the interests of the community and the State to which these children are destined. I am glad to give recognition at this point to the fine cooperation we in the Department of State have had in this connection not only from the Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare but also the various State and voluntary social agencies expert in and concerned with the welfare of children.

In the case of orphans, assurances of proper care have to be submitted by the American citizen who has already adopted the child abroad or who is planning to adopt the child in the United States. Different requirements are established depending on whether the adoption has already taken place abroad or will be initiated in this country. In the latter case, some of the requirements are an investigation of the prospective adoptive home and parents by a recognized child care agency and an investigation in the country of the orphan's residence by a qualified welfare agency concerning the orphan's mental and physical health and family background. It is also required that arrangements have been made with a child care agency for the supervision of the orphan pending his legal adoption and, in the event the adoption petition is denied by the court, for the care and resettlement of the orphan.

The fourth and last group of aliens benefiting from the Refugee Relief Act are 5,000 nonimmigrants in the United States who entered this country before July 1, 1953, and who may be granted permanent residence status if they can show that because of events which have occurred subsequent to their entry to the United States they are unable to return to the country of their birth, nationality, or last residence because of persecution or fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion.

When Congress passed the Refugee Relief Act it decided that it should be administered by the established operating agencies of the government under the supervisory jurisdiction of the Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular

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Affairs in the Department of State. In addition to the Department of State and its consular officers abroad, the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice, the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor, the United States Public Health Service of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Counter Intelligence Corps of the Army, and the Treasury Department play an important part in the administration of the act.

Parts Played by Other Agencies

In addition to the functions it performs under the regular immigration laws, the Immigration and Naturalization Service inspects abroad aliens who apply for visas under the Refugee Relief Act and determines preliminarily their admissibility into the United States. It is expected that thereby the number of aliens will be reduced to a minimum who at the time of their application for admission at a port of entry are found excludable.

The adjustment of status of 5,000 nonimmigrants in the United States to that of permanent resident aliens authorized by the Refugee Relief Act is also the responsibility of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The United States Employment Service in cooperation with its affiliated State Employment Services examines the authenticity of job orders in connection with assurances of employment for refugees and escapees and also verifies that no American workers would be displaced from employment by the alien's admission.

Abroad, officers of the United States Employment Service will determine the occupational skills of aliens who are applying for visas under the Refugee Relief Act and so far as possible will develop an occupational catalog of visa applicants with skills for which no assurances have been given. This catalog will be used in filling job orders in the United States for aliens identified only by their skill by the prospective employers.

The Treasury Department administers the granting of loans to finance the transportation of immigrants from ports of entry to places of their resettlement in the United States. Officers of the Counter Intelligence Corps of the Army and special officers of the Department of State conduct security investigations concerning visa applicants. The latter, in addition, prepare the written report on each applicant for an immigrant visa required by the act.

As I am speaking to you today I am glad to report that the vast machinery to put the act into full operation in various countries has been set up as far as conditions permit. At the same time I would like to give you an insight into the various problems the Administrator of the Refugee Relief Program had to contend with before the present status of the program was reached.

Since the Refugee Relief Act became law on August 7, 1953, Mr. Scott McLeod, the Administrator of the State Department's Bureau of Inspection, Security and Consular Affairs, appointed Mr. Robert C. Alexander as Assistant Administrator to set up the necessary inter- and intradepartmental organization for the administration of the act. The Administrator and his Assistant had to tackle simultaneously a number of problems. The various government agencies entrusted with the act's administration had to be brought together and had to agree on the lines of demarcation of their respective responsibilities. Regulations, instructions, and assurance forms had to be prepared and discussed within the Government. A first and a second draft of these regulations and assurance forms was shared with various voluntary social agencies concerned with refugee work, many of whom are represented here today. Many of their recommendations are incorporated in the final draft of the regulations which were published on December 3, 1953.²

Simultaneously the Administrator had to resolve budgetary questions which by necessity arise with the inauguration of a new governmental program and had to begin a recruitment program of consular officers and security investigators for service abroad. This recruitment program had to be planned carefully so as to conserve available operational funds as much as possible.

Difficulty of Anticipating Volume

The uncertainty of the volume of immigration to be anticipated from different parts of the world under the Refugee Relief Act was, and to some extent still is, a very serious problem which has to be faced in connection with the staffing program.

This uncertainty hinges mainly on two points. One is that no definite or final staffing plans can be made for any one country until the government of such country has declared its willingness to issue to each emigrant from its territory a certificate guaranteeing that he will be accepted back in the event it should be discovered that he obtained a visa by fraud or by misrepresenting a material fact. Although negotiations with the governments of the various countries of the world in which the Refugee Relief Program could operate were initiated soon after the act was approved by the President, only 10 countries or areas have so far agreed to issue the certificate of readmission. These countries or areas are Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Korea, Holland, Hong Kong, and Japan. Greece and Italy agreed to the issuance of the return certificate late in 1953; the Netherlands in February; France in March; Korea, Hong Kong, Germany, Austria, and Japan in April; and Belgium in May of this year. The

² 18 Fed. Reg. 7783. For a Department announcement, see BULLETIN of Dec. 21, 1953, p. 861.

Netherlands has agreed to the issuance of the certificate in principle only; details of the agreements with this country still have to be worked out. It will readily be seen that it would be unwise and wasteful to hire staff as long as it is uncertain whether, because of the absence of an agreement concerning the certificate of readmission, the refugee program can be operated in a given country or area.

The other important factor which influences the planning for the Refugee Relief Program is the difficulty of anticipating the volume of assurances for the various groups of refugees, expellees, and orphans who may come to the United States under the Refugee Relief Act. Up to April 30, 5,046 assurances have been received in the Department of State for all groups of refugees, escapees, and orphans. Of these assurances, 138 are for orphans. For refugees and escapees in Germany 880 assurances have been submitted; in Austria, 357; in Greece, 2,726; in Holland, 8. The remaining 937 assurances are for refugees and escapees in Belgium, France, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Japan, Hong Kong, Israel, Transjordan, and other areas in the Middle and Far East. 604 of the 5,046 assurances are underwritten by voluntary organizations recognized by the Administrator.

I should like to illustrate the existing problem in the case of Germany. As stated, 880 assurances have been received for refugees and escapees in Germany. They may cover some 1,200 to 1,400 persons. Under the circumstances those responsible for the administration of the act have to decide whether it is administratively sound and justifiable from the taxpayer's point of view to send into Germany a staff large enough to issue visas in these cases within a 1- or 2-month period with the possibility that not sufficient additional assurances are received in time to justify the retention of this staff; or whether it would be more prudent to send a small staff into Germany and step up staffing as it becomes apparent that sufficient assurances are at hand to complete the issuance of the 90,000 visas authorized for Germany and Austria. The same problem exists in most other countries in which the refugee program could operate.

The situation is quite different in regard to relatives in Italy and Greece since many more approved visa petitions are at hand than visas are authorized to be issued for these groups. For example, as of April 30 the Department of State has received 42,111 approved relative petitions for Italian beneficiaries but only 15,000 visas may be issued to Italian relatives under the Refugee Relief Act. Should a bill already passed by the House become law it would be possible that the 45,000 visas authorized for issuance to refugees in Italy and the 15,000 in Greece also be used for the issuance of visas to the relative groups in each of these countries.

Role of Voluntary Social Agencies

What is the role voluntary social agencies can play in relation to the Refugee Relief Program? First of all, agencies can do a very important job by disseminating accurate information on the Refugee Relief Act and the opportunity it offers. While the required assurance forms are available directly from the Department of State and also through the various field offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Administrator appreciates the cooperation of voluntary agencies willing to act as distributing centers for these forms.

Agencies conversant with the technical requirements of the Refugee Relief Act can be of real service to American communities in assisting with the preparation of assurance forms and their submission to the prescribed government agencies. Agencies with representatives abroad may find qualified workers to fill the demand for special skills specified by a sponsor. Other agencies which are particularly equipped to work with refugees may apply to the Administrator of the program for recognition. Once recognized, they may underwrite assurances of an individual citizen and may certify the availability of housing in the absence of a public housing authority which can perform such function.

The role of state and voluntary agencies in the orphan program of the Refugee Relief Act is of particular significance since their participation is required in conducting the investigation of the proposed adoptive home and parents and of the orphan himself. Also, in the case of orphans to be adopted in the United States, as stated earlier, an appropriate agency has to assume responsibility for the supervision of the orphan pending his legal adoption and, if the adoption petition is denied by the court, for the care and resettlement of the orphan.

Since the volume of assurances will determine the pattern and the success of the act's administration, obviously the voluntary agencies can make their greatest contribution by making the law known throughout the country and by helping those willing to sponsor refugees with the fulfillment of the law's requirements.

In closing, I should like to bring you the personal greetings of Mr. McLeod, the Administrator of the Refugee Relief Program, and his assurance that all those in the Department of State concerned with the Refugee Relief Act are making every effort to interpret and administer the law reasonably, sympathetically, and in accordance with the intent of Congress. We count on your help and cooperation in making the act better known throughout the American communities and to make it successful by relieving the plight of those who are anxious to find a permanent home in the United States.

Resumption of Relations With Paraguay

Press release 252 dated May 14

The United States Chargé d'Affaires at Asunción informed the Paraguayan Foreign Office on May 13 of the resumption of relations between the United States and Paraguayan Governments.

General Strike in Honduras

Press release 242 dated May 11

At his news conference on May 11, Secretary Dulles was asked for comment on the general strike in Honduras and any relation it had to Guatemala. Mr. Dulles made the following reply:

The indications are that the so-called strike in Honduras is not entirely a domestic phenomenon. There is at least an interesting coincidence in the fact that the strikes have occurred principally in an area to which the Guatemalan Government recently sent three consuls who have subsequently been declared *persona non grata* by the Government of Honduras because of their activities.

Bipartisan Foreign Policy

Press release 243 dated May 11

At his news conference on May 11, Secretary Dulles was asked whether in his opinion bipartisan foreign policy had deteriorated over the past year and whether he felt that any Democrat had been given anything like the authority that he was given as a representative of the opposition party in the Truman administration. Mr. Dulles replied as follows:

I myself am not conscious of any deterioration of bipartisanship in foreign policy. I have had the most frequent and intimate talks with both Republican and Democratic members of Congress, both in the Senate and the House. I have always been received and listened to with the greatest courtesy by Democrats as well as Republicans.

I have nothing but satisfaction in my own mind for the degree in which there has up to the present time been a nonpartisan approach to this question of foreign policy, and I hope it will continue that way. Certainly, I shall do everything within my power to make it continue that way.

There is no point in disguising the fact that we have been and are and for a long time will be faced by the greatest danger, I think, that has ever confronted our Nation, and I think it is indispensable that there should be bipartisanship. I showed that myself when the Democrats were in charge

of the executive department of the Government and did all that I could to contribute toward it, working principally, of course, with Senator Vandenberg and Governor Dewey, and in that way we had a united front with which to face the world. I am doing all that I can to contribute to making that possible at the present time, and so far I have received, and I expect to continue to receive, cooperation on the part of the Democrats.

It is often, I think, forgotten that David Bruce, who was the Under Secretary of State when we came in, continues on in the same capacity in relation to this administration that I had in relation to the Truman administration. He is a trusted adviser in relation to many of the most important aspects of our foreign policy.

World Trade Week, 1954

A PROCLAMATION¹

WHEREAS It is essential for the peace and security of the free world that our Nation and its friends throughout the world maintain and increase their individual and combined economic strength; and

WHEREAS the growth and prosperity of the nations of the free world depend to a significant degree upon the continued expansion of the exchange of their goods and services in world markets; and

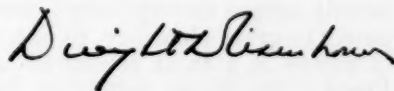
WHEREAS mutual economic advantages accrue to buyer and seller, to producer and consumer, and to individuals and nations through the exchange of goods and services in world trade:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning May 16, 1954, as World Trade Week; and I request the appropriate officials of the Federal Government and of the several States, Territories, possessions, and municipalities of the United States to cooperate in the observance of that week.

I also urge business, labor, agricultural, educational, and civic groups, as well as the people of the United States generally, to observe World Trade Week with gatherings, discussions, exhibits, ceremonies, and other appropriate activities.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this eighth day of May in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and [SEAL] fifty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventy-eighth.



By the President:
JOHN FOSTER DULLES
Secretary of State.

¹ No. 3054; 19 Fed Reg. 2777.

Trade With the Philippines

Press release 253 dated May 14

The Department of State in a communication to the Congress on May 13 requested an 18-month extension of the period of free entry of Philippine articles into the United States from July 4, 1954, to January 1, 1956. Legislation proposed for implementing this request would enable the President of the United States to bring this extension into effect by proclamation to cover that period between the aforementioned dates for which like treatment is accorded U.S. articles entering the Philippines.

The draft bill which was forwarded to the Congress was prepared in response to a specific request from the Philippine Government and as a result of an agreement that both Governments should seek an 18-month extension of the present free-trade period, during which time the basic modifications which the Philippine Government seeks in the 1946 Agreement on Trade and Related Matters could be considered.

Sentences by International Military Tribunal Far East

Press release 246 dated May 12

The Government of India has protested the decision of the signatory powers to the Japanese peace treaty regarding India's rights to participate in decisions with respect to persons sentenced by the International Military Tribunal Far East. The U.S. Government's position on this matter is as follows:

Article 11 of the Treaty of Peace with Japan provides that the power to grant clemency, to reduce sentences, and to parole with respect to persons sentenced by the International Military Tribunal Far East (IMTFE) may not be exercised except on the decision of the majority of the Governments represented on the Tribunal and on the recommendations of Japan.

To carry out this provision the Government of the United States consulted with the other Governments concerned under the Treaty of Peace: Australia, Canada, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom. It was unanimously agreed among these Governments that the power to grant clemency, to reduce sentences, and to parole is a right conferred by the Treaty of Peace with Japan signed at San Francisco on September 8, 1951, and therefore comes within the scope of operation of article 25 of that treaty.

The language of articles 11 and 25 taken together confines the exercise of this power to the following Governments, which have already

signed and ratified the Treaty of Peace with Japan: Australia, Canada, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and the United States. With respect to the participation of Pakistan it is the view of the Governments concerned that Pakistan was entitled under international law to seek and be accorded the rights and obligations which attached to British India as a participant in the war against Japan. Thus in regard to the Treaty of Peace itself, Pakistan acquired the position of a power formerly at war with Japan. Similarly Pakistan is entitled to be regarded for the purpose of article 11 of the treaty as having been represented on the IMTFE and is therefore entitled to exercise the rights conferred by article 11 of the treaty.

It is not the position of the Governments concerned that India's vote was transferred to Pakistan. Had India signed and ratified the Treaty of Peace with Japan, both India and Pakistan would, in the view of the Governments concerned, have been eligible to participate in decisions with respect to persons sentenced by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East.

This position was conveyed by Governments concerned to the Government of Japan in March 1953 and subsequently to the Government of India in response to the latter's protest against exclusion from participation in decisions with respect to persons sentenced by the IMTFE.

TREATY INFORMATION

Consular Convention With Ireland

Press release 250 dated May 13

On May 13 the instruments of ratification of the consular convention and supplementary protocol between the United States and Ireland were exchanged at Washington by Secretary Dulles and John Joseph Hearne, Ambassador of Ireland. In accordance with their terms, the convention and protocol will enter into force on the 30th day after the exchange, June 12, 1954.

The convention, signed at Dublin May 1, 1950, and the protocol supplementary thereto, signed at Dublin March 3, 1952, were approved by the United States Senate on June 13, 1952, and ratified by the President on June 26, 1952.

The convention is the first comprehensive treaty relating to consular affairs to be entered into between the United States and Ireland. Like similar conventions between the United States and other

countries, the convention with Ireland contains provisions relating to the appointment and districts of consular officers; their legal rights and immunities and the inviolability of consular offices, archives, and correspondence; the financial privileges of consular officers and employees, including certain tax exemptions and customs privileges; the rights of consular officers in connection with the protection of nationals of their country; notarial acts and other services; the authority of consular officers in connection with transfers of property; and their authority in regard to shipping matters. Provision is also made regarding the rights of each country to acquire real estate for consular purposes.

The terms of the supplementary protocol have the effect of providing that the authority of consular officers in connection with the settlement of estates will be governed by the provisions of article III of the convention relating to the tenure and disposition of real and personal property, signed at Washington March 2, 1899, together with articles 19 and 20 of the present convention.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Cultural Relations

Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations. Signed at Caracas March 28, 1954 (Tenth Inter-American Conference).¹ Enters into force between the countries that ratify upon deposit of such ratifications with the Pan American Union.

Signatures:

United States	Guatemala
Argentina	Haiti
Bolivia	Honduras
Brazil	Mexico
Chile	Nicaragua
Colombia	Panama
Cuba	Paraguay
Dominican Republic	Peru
Ecuador	Uruguay
El Salvador	Venezuela

Finance

Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund. Opened for signature at Washington December 27, 1945.

¹Two other conventions also concluded at the Tenth Inter-American Conference were not signed by the United States (*viz.*, Convention on Diplomatic Asylum and Convention on Territorial Asylum).

Entered into force December 27, 1945. TIAS 1501.
Signature and acceptance: Indonesia, April 15, 1954.
Articles of Agreement of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Opened for signature at Washington December 27, 1945. Entered into force December 27, 1945.
Signature and acceptance: Indonesia, April 15, 1954.

Postal Matters

Universal postal convention, with final protocol, annex, regulations of execution, provisions regarding airmail and final protocol to the provisions regarding airmail. Signed at Brussels July 11, 1952. Entered into force July 1, 1953. TIAS 2800.
Ratifications deposited: Greece, April 5, 1954; Cuba, April 14, 1954.

Trade and Commerce

Second protocol of rectifications and modifications to texts of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (TIAS 1700).² Opened for signature at Geneva November 8, 1952.

Signature: Austria, April 30, 1954.

Third protocol of rectifications and modifications to the texts of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (TIAS 1700).² Done at Geneva October 24, 1953.

Declaration recognizing signature as binding: deposited by Austria, April 30, 1954.

Declaration on the continued application of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (TIAS 1700). Done at Geneva October 24, 1953. Entered into force October 24, 1953. TIAS 2886.

Ratification deposited: Norway, April 28, 1954.

Declaration recognizing signature as binding: deposited by Austria, April 30, 1954.

BILATERAL

Israel

Treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation, with protocol and exchange of notes. Signed at Washington August 23, 1951. Advice and consent to ratification (with reservation) given by the Senate July 21, 1953. Ratified by the President December 18, 1953. Ratifications exchanged March 4, 1954. Entered into force April 3, 1954.

Proclaimed by the President: May 6, 1954.

Luxembourg

Agreement relating to the off-shore procurement program. Signed at Luxembourg April 17, 1954. Enters into force upon ratification by Luxembourg.

Panama

Agreement for the enlargement and use by the Canal Zone of sewerage facilities in Colon Free Zone Area. Effected by exchange of notes at Panama March 8 and 25, 1954. Entered into force March 25, 1954.

²Not in force.

Forced Labor Behind the Iron Curtain

Statements by Preston Hotchkiss

U.S. Representative in the Economic and Social Council¹

THE ENSLAVEMENT OF RACES

U.S./U.N. press release 1910 dated April 23

Forced labor is an anachronism, yet it still exists in the 20th century. In its most pervasive form, it is the life worse than death meted out to those who dare to doubt a totalitarian government; a throwback to slavery of the dark ages employed by the Communist dictator to mass-liquidate opposition.

Why in this enlightened age do we tolerate it?

Why in this council of the United Nations do we have to talk about it?

We must talk about it, we must discuss the facts fairly and frankly. For we have before us the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.²

We recall that only 4 months ago, in December 1953, the General Assembly, aroused by the findings in that report, expressed its strong condemnation of forced labor as a direct contravention of the solemn obligations of the Charter of the United Nations.³ This action of the General Assembly was almost unanimous for there were only 5 votes against it—by those representing the so-called “workers’ paradises” promised by Lenin.

The ideals and undertakings of that Charter have been well served by the Committee’s work. Its report is regarded almost universally as a landmark in the history of man’s struggle for freedom from oppression.

The three outstanding jurists who comprised the Committee have earned the abiding gratitude of the members of the United Nations. Likewise the Secretariat of the United Nations, the International Labor Organization, and the nongovernmental organizations which participated are deserving of our fullest thanks.

The cause of freedom was also well served by the willing contributions of many governments.

¹ Made in the Economic and Social Council on Apr. 23 and 27.

² U.N. doc. E/2431. For the text of the section of the report dealing with conclusions regarding forced labor in the U.S.S.R., see BULLETIN of Aug. 10, 1953, p. 167.

³ For text of resolution, see *ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1953, p. 873.

Outside the Soviet world, the charges have been reviewed seriously. Governments have given full cooperation in the presentation of laws, data, and facts. There have been indications that governments have reviewed their own practices during the course of the Committee’s investigation. The facts which underlay the Committee’s inquiries were of grave concern to the governments involved. They challenged their consciences and their moral obligations to their own people and the people of the world.

Needless to say, we are concerned about practices of forced labor wherever they may exist. We are interested in vigorous action by governments and cooperative action which can follow after consideration of the Committee’s recommendations. In this my Government is prepared to participate within this Council and within the International Labor Organization.

Refusals To Cooperate With Committee

It is highly significant—and yet understandable—that the Committee’s blackest findings related to the very countries which refused to cooperate with the Committee in any way.

The utter disregard and contempt for the standards of human dignity and freedom which the United Nations represents is clearly shown by the replies of Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. to the Committee’s inquiries. That contempt is further evidenced by their continued refusal to cooperate, even after the General Assembly had requested such cooperation in its resolution of December 7, 1953. Some 6 weeks later, on January 22, 1954, the delegation of the U.S.S.R. notified the Secretary-General that it would continue to refuse to cooperate, and again characterized the report as “slandrous” and “provocative.” In succession the delegations of the Polish People’s Republic and of Czechoslovakia followed suit on March 1 and 10, respectively.

These latest replies must be interpreted for what they truly are—a brazen effort to use the technique of the “big lie” in combating a series of established

facts that have already shocked the civilized world.

The members of this Council are familiar with the findings of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and with the judicial tone in which they are presented. The restraint, the understatements, the careful way in which the three eminent members leaned over backward in reaching their conclusions, attest both to their own competence and to the conservatism of their findings.

The three members applied a basic standard of justice—the standard that an *accused is innocent until proven guilty*—even to allegations against countries that do not accord this right to their own citizens. They were hampered at every turn by Iron Curtain refusals to cooperate. The only comments the Committee had from the Soviet world were those made during Council debate. Even taking them into account, the Committee was forced to conclude that forced labor in its most reprehensible form was a significant part of the Soviet structure, and that in parrot-like fashion, forced labor occupied a comparable place in the satellite countries. They found the existence of forced labor used as a political weapon to throttle any freedom. What this means is that the majority of the forced laborers are political prisoners rather than ordinary criminals in the free-world sense. And they found a second form of forced labor. That second form is compulsion to work for the state as the state commands without freedom of job choice or movement. By this means, the Soviet dictatorships extract from human lives concentrated and cheap labor which could not otherwise be attracted. That, I submit, makes men into mere dots on a blueprint, an anonymous proletariat enslaved by a ruthless dictatorship.

The personal testimony of the victims who suffered the enslavement found by the Committee is only summarized in the Report's appendixes. One wishes that it were possible to publish the full record for all the world to see; yet one can understand the decision of the Committee not to do so. The Committee's procedure was criticized by the representative of the Soviet Union in Committee III of the Eighth General Assembly as part of the secretive character of the "slandorous" and "provocative" attack on the U.S.S.R. I wonder whether the U.S.S.R. would really like to see the record of the Committee's hearings made public in all its shocking detail. That record would show not only forced labor, but evidence on other violations of human rights and decent standards—the tragic breaking up of homes, the separation of husbands and wives, of mothers from their children, the use of brutality, the imposition of unreasonable and arduous tasks on women and children, the cruel transition from dreams and hopes of the future to the nightmare of prison camp life—in sum, the shattering of countless human lives.

Experiences of Victims in Soviet Labor Camps

Let me give you only a partial summary of the actual experiences of 118 former inmates of the Soviet Union's forced labor camps—farm workers, unskilled laborers, bookkeepers, managers, engineers, journalists.

In most instances the victim was picked up in the dead of night and taken away from his home, permitted to bring only the clothes he wore. He was subjected to lengthy and repeated interrogation, many times accompanied by psychological coercion or physical violence.

After their inquisition, the victims usually were subjected to some kind of rigged "trial," although some were sent to forced labor camps without trial. Some were tried in absentia. There appears to be no rule as to whether the victim has a right to defend himself or obtain legal defense; defense counsel sometimes was provided, sometimes not. Sentences sometimes were pronounced after trials lasting not more than 15 minutes. After the trial the victims were transported to forced labor camps, usually in guarded freight or cattle cars.

"We got 400 grams of salt fish every two days, and 300 grams of bread daily," one former inmate said. "Sometimes we went two or three days without water. Usually they gave us one pail for 70 persons to scramble at. Whoever was quick got something to drink, many did not drink at all."

The camps and cells usually consisted of barracks, infirmary, kitchen, and administration buildings enclosed by barbed or electrified wire and guarded by watch towers and patrolled by dogs and armed guards. Many of the camps included women prisoners receiving treatment substantially the same as that provided for the men. While usually the women were given separate quarters, and penalties were provided for contact between men and women prisoners, the stories of the former inmates revealed instances of sadism and depravity which are revolting in the extreme.

More often than not food in the camps was rationed according to whether the victim fulfills his work quota.

"Anyone who was unable to meet the quota received 400 grams of bread," one former inmate reported. "Whoever exceeded the quota got 800 grams."

The great majority of those who have reported on forced labor camp conditions say that the clothing issued was inadequate.

One man had this to say:

Theoretically, we should have been issued full clothing, but what we got was in a wholly bad condition. Torn, dirty, and in holes. The shoes were very bad. Prisoners were not supposed to be sent out barefoot, but in reality the dogs sometimes tore the clothes. But it was especially from the hard work that the clothes deteriorated.

Usually the camps had a doctor but frequently he was himself one of the prisoners and often all medical care was in the hands of nurses. Usually

there was an infirmary but that was not always the case, and when there was one the reports overwhelmingly indicate that medicines, bandages, and so forth were inadequate.

In these circumstances the death rate was high. The most common causes were exhaustion and malnutrition, exposure to extreme climatic conditions, accidents at work, and occasional epidemics.

"Most prisoners died of dysentery, complete exhaustion, and colds and their aftermath," a former prisoner said.

A victim might or might not be able to send and receive mail. Where allowed, it usually was limited to one letter per month and all incoming and outgoing letters and packages passed through a censor.

Refusal to work was met by severe punishment. One victim reported:

For example, 350 prisoners struck for work closer to their specialties, for an 8-hour day and for separation from criminals. They starved for 15 to 40 days.

All were shot. In other cases protestors were promised improvements, then the promises were never made good. They were sent to the assignment office and then to other camps. Or they were sent to solitary. Every day there were those who refused to work and go solitary. If an individual refused to work, it was considered a crime, but it was worse if they refused in a group. The individual would get 1, 2, 3 years added to his sentence, solitary for months, 300 grams of penal ration.

It appears, moreover, that there was little if any relationship between particular "crimes" and particular punishments. Almost any punishment can be meted out for almost any "crime."

"The punishment barracks were terrible. They were dark underground vaults, without heat, light, or blankets. Beds were just boards. Sometimes people were fed 300 grams of bread (dark) a day, sometimes not," as one man described the situation.

Frequently one of the worst features of the camp was the group of habitual criminals known as the "blatnois." Descriptions of their activities indicated that they plagued the other prisoners, stole their belongings, and forced them to turn over food under threats of violence. They fought among themselves and sometimes murdered one of their own number or a noncriminal prisoner. These activities of the blatnois were rarely punished, if at all.

We have heard rumors of improvement in the camps occasioned by the *Ad Hoc* Committee's work. And of course there were the so-called amnesties. The U. S. S. R. granted one a year ago and the "sovereign" states that constitute the Soviet sphere of influence copied the Soviet decree and issued it with minor adaptations. But all these amnesties carefully avoided releasing political prisoners.

If there has in fact been improvement of any kind in the official use of forced labor, the world is owed a statement of the situation by the countries which stand accused. If the U. S. S. R. and its satellites have any respect for the standards upon which the United Nations rests, the Iron

Curtain should be raised and a full and frank disclosure should now be made.

Despite the intensity of its labors, the Committee was not able to finish its task. Notably in the case of Albania and Communist China, the Committee was unable to pursue its inquiry to a conclusion. Yet it should be noted that the Committee did not dismiss the allegations against the Governments of Albania or Communist China, as it did in a number of cases where it found no evidence.

Evidence From Albania

Stringent censorship has been imposed by the Enver Hoxha government to prevent the outside world from learning about Albania's internal affairs, including the forced labor conditions. Tourists, correspondents, and other writers from democratic countries are barred out. Albanians are barred in—by law and by armed border guards. Laws, decrees or administrative orders, court proceedings, internal political events, any or all affairs of state are printed by Albanian newspapers only as the government sees fit.

Is it any longer strange, therefore, that the *Ad Hoc* Committee, in its own words, could not obtain documentation with regard to Albania?

But there are ways of getting fragmentary facts on what is taking place in that shrouded state.

I use an Albanian newspaper to show that the Hoxha regime is committed to a policy of forced labor. I quote from a report printed in the Albanian newspaper *Bashkimi* on May 23, 1952. It is a report of a speech made by Bilbil Klosi, Minister of Justice, in presenting a new penal code to Parliament. Here are some of his officially reported words: "What are the general principles of the draft of the code? They are the principles of the Soviet Penal Law. In the crimes against the state complicity has still a larger meaning. In these crimes merely the participation in an anti-government group is considered an accomplished crime . . ."

Under the topic of penalties, the Minister of Justice said:

The penalties are intended not only to punish the culprits but to educate them and combat unstable elements . . . The principal penalties are death, imprisonment, deportation for corrective labor, corrective labor and public censure . . .

The testimony of 300 Albanians who fled the black tyranny of their country tells the story of the men who have suffered under this regime.

Their story is the doleful litany recited by virtually all the countless men and women and children initiated into that bleak fraternity—Communist "educative" labor. It is the harrowing tale of the rap on the door at midnight—the accusation—the inevitable sentence.

Among these histories is the account of Reshad Agaij, a stenographer on the same newspaper *Bashkimi* during the early days of the Communist

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regime. Two weeks before Christmas in 1946—almost 4 years before the new penal code was proposed—Agaij was arrested by the Albanian political police. He was accused of passing on to others news broadcasts by the British Broadcasting Corporation, dissemination of propaganda against the government, contacts with reactionaries.

Then came the sham trial, the futile protestations of innocence, the imprisonment, the transfer to a labor camp in the district of Tirana, and then another transfer to the Vlodishti camp in the Korca District where existence became a nightmare. Windowless barracks, in which the doors remained open summer and heatless winter, and on the floors on which exhausted men slept crowded shoulder to shoulder. Sanitary facilities? The camp's 1,400 forced laborers shared three toilets, drew water for washing and drinking from a single fountain. Not once in a span of 12 months was the camp disinfected. Between the 1,400 forced laborers and mass contagion stood three doctors—convicts, too. Their medicine chest consisted solely of atabrin, which they could not administer without approval of the camp authorities. The work day began at 5 a. m. after a meager breakfast of bread and bitter synthetic tea, and ended at 6 p. m. Each laborer was goaded to fulfill the camp norm of ditch digging. Failure meant reduction of the mean ration and physical punishment. In less than one year 140 inmates finished their "education" and were freed from the camp—by death.

Let me now turn to China—the mainland dominated by the Communists.

Red China's Advocacy of Forced Labor

Perhaps the blandest acknowledgement that the Communist regime in China is employing forced labor came from Lo Jui-ch'ing, Minister of Public Security, in an article published in the Peiping *Jen Min Jih Pao*. The article, titled "The Mighty Movement for the Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries," acknowledges in a single paragraph that forced labor is used to liquidate and reform enemies of the Peiping regime, and that it—forced labor—is of great economic as well as political significance.

I read you that paragraph:

The subjection of counter-revolutionaries to forced labor is an indispensable means for the liquidation of the counter-revolutionary class, as well as a basic policy for the thorough reform of the culprits into new human beings. This sort of reform is a combination of political reform coupled with labor reform, as well as a combination of punishment and education. . . . It is up to all levels of people's governments and various public security organs to pay adequate attention to and to make a success of this aspect of work which is possessed of the greatest political and economic significance.

In that same article Lo stated that—and I quote—"large numbers had been sentenced to

prison terms and subjected to compulsory reform through labor."

Chinese Communist advocacy of forced labor goes back to the very beginning of that regime. Communist chairman Mao Tse-tung, in the early days, gave a speech in which he made it explicit that he intended, as he put it, "to re-educate the reactionary classes anew through work." He added: "If they are unwilling to work, the people's state will compel them to work."

I quote another Chinese Communist leader, Premier Chou En-lai.

At the third session of the National Political Consultative Conference he reported:

In compliance with the directives of Chairman Mao (Tse-tung) . . . we have decided that to those who have "blood debts" or those counter-revolutionary elements who have inflicted serious damages to the national interests, we must hand down the death sentence and have them executed. To those who deserve the death sentence but who have no "blood debt" or inflicted less serious damages to national interests, we would still hand down the death sentence but would have their execution deferred for a period of two years, during which they would do forced labor on probation.

The meaning of that statement is clear. It is a naked use of the death threat to exact forced labor to the utmost.

These quotations will convince any person with an open mind that the Communist regime in China has plainly stated its intention to use forced labor—and has told the world why and how it would use it.

That it has been used is proved by a report on the work of the Kwangtung Provincial People's Government for a 10-month period. Ku Ta-Chuan, vice governor of Kwangtung Province, said that 1,571 cases of what he called counter-revolutionary attempts were exposed, involving the arrest of nearly 90,000 persons. Of this number, he said, some 28,000 were shot and the remainder were sentenced to reform through hard labor.

It was in a camp for such "reform" that Li po-Shen, former secretary of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, perished. Too ill to take boiled rice in a camp that made no provision for medical aid, he tried to get rice water instead. For this he was beaten until he collapsed and the same evening he died, "uneducated" to the end of his 60-odd years.

I should like to refer briefly to another account of Chinese toil on the mainland, by Brajkishore Shastri, a prominent member of the Praja Socialist Party of India who visited Communist China last April and May. His impressions of a 6-weeks stay in China were published in Bombay in *Janata*, the Praja Socialist Party weekly.

Telling of his visit to the Yangtse River Valley Project, he said:

About 5,000 laborers were at work. Every piece of work, from breaking stones, cutting a tunnel, or removing rocks, was being done by man's bare hands. The meager implements the laborers were using were like museum pieces. As soon as we got out of our omnibus, we were

provided with heavy colored glasses and thin veils for protection against dust storms. The laborers did not have any such facilities.

I was horrified. After all, a human being is not a beast. Even for reconstructing a country he should not be used as a tool of convenience.

Just a little more of Mr. Shastri's account:

Most of the laborers there had been imported from distant places; even if they wanted, they were not allowed to give up their present jobs to try for new ones elsewhere. The Communist party of China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung had decreed employment for all; perhaps it is enforced labor like this that has in the West provoked descriptions like "labor concentration camps" and "forced labor."

Perhaps criticism may be leveled at the fact that in both Communist China and Albania the instances of forced labor cited and the laws underlying the forced labor programs date back 2 years or more. Perhaps some of you may be tempted to say this is all old information. Do not yield to that temptation. For this is new—this is a monster whelped in our time and nurtured to dragon proportions since the end of the last war. It is, moreover, a monster in the image of the Kremlin, set loose anew in each land that has been enslaved. Even now it is awaiting license to roam the Associated States of Indochina.

The means we employ to present the facts of forced labor to the world must be those which are most productive of efficient operation. The work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee has laid a solid foundation for that which lies ahead. There is merit to the proposition that the Committee's life be continued. The United States is prepared to support a proposal of this kind. It is our view that we must have an expert mechanism to evaluate evidence placed before the United Nations on the existence of forced labor. At an appropriate later date, the United States Government may wish to lay such proposals before the United Nations.

For the present, however, the continuation of the exploration that has been begun, on the basis of the solid principles established by the Committee, can well be entrusted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director General of the International Labor Organization, acting jointly.

Purposes of Joint Resolution

The joint resolution which we have introduced, together with the delegations of Ecuador, France, Norway, Turkey, and the United Kingdom, carries out this thought. It provides, in paragraph 5 (b), for the submission of new information, of whatever type, on systems of forced labor, whether *de jure* or *de facto*. It permits information to be submitted by responsible sources—member governments, specialized agencies, and nongovernmental organizations in consultative status. Gov-

ernments concerned are given an opportunity to comment on the information thus submitted. The resolution further provides for the inclusion of this information, together with any comments that governments concerned may have submitted, in a report to be made to the 19th session of this Council.

I want to make quite clear the nature of the report which the joint resolution before the Council would authorize, and also what this resolution does not authorize.

The language of the resolution is carefully chosen. It envisages a report based on *new* information. This would exclude a re-presentation of the material in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report.

It envisages a report based on *information*, and not on unsupported allegation.

It envisages a report dealing with *systems of forced labor*, in the sense that such systems were defined and elaborated by the *Ad Hoc* Committee. It does not envisage a report which includes information on a great many other matters. To be specific, this resolution does not authorize the inclusion of—and I am going to borrow a phrase and use it where it is really applicable—of "slandrous and provocative" irrelevancies similar to those which the *Ad Hoc* Committee dismissed.

The responsibility for preparing a careful report of this character is a heavy one. I am sure that the Secretary-General and the Director General of the International Labor Organization will carry out their responsibilities in a manner that will make their report a notable addition to the work begun by the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

The resolution also asks for the cooperation of governments who have not replied to the questionnaire the Committee sent them. This is an important step in the gathering of further information on forced labor and carries out the desires of the Eighth General Assembly. Such information would also be included in the report of the Secretary-General and the Director General of the International Labor Organization.

But even while we continue to explore the facts further, we must not weaken in our condemnation of those inhuman practices which have been so forcefully brought to our attention. The resolution before the Council unequivocally condemns forced labor and, following the *Ad Hoc* Committee's recommendations, appeals to governments to reexamine those laws and practices which have occasioned this inquiry.

The United Nations has been characterized as the conscience of the civilized world. I earnestly commend adoption of this resolution as a signal that that conscience is awake.⁴

⁴ The resolution (U.N. doc. E/L 588/Rev. 1) was adopted by the Economic and Social Council on Apr. 27 by a vote of 13-2 (Czechoslovakia, U.S.S.R.)-3 (Egypt, India, Yugoslavia).

REFUTATION OF SOVIET CHARGES

U.S./U.N. press release 1911 dated April 27

I feel impelled to take a few minutes of the Council again to set the record straight. I feel that charges were made by the delegate from Soviet Russia against my country which were not facts, which were slanders, and I think we should refer to the record to get the matter completely straight.

I take his charges one by one. In the first instance, he stated that the *Ad Hoc* Committee appointed to investigate conditions of forced labor throughout the world was a stacked Committee, a Committee that was stacked, and he implied that it was stacked against Soviet Russia and her satellites. Well, who are the members of the Committee? They were three eminent jurists. And what countries did they come from? They came from India, Norway, and Peru, as we all know. Now, is there any implication in that makeup of a Committee that it should be stacked for or against any country that is represented around this table or is represented in the United Nations? By any stretch of the imagination was there any attempt to stack that Committee or to make its findings favor or disfavor any one country or group of countries? No. It was a thoroughly impartial job done by an eminent group of jurists who were dedicated to one thing, and that was to find the facts.

The Soviet delegate also said that the United States was the main speaker and he said that I asked why do we have to discuss forced labor. That is correct. I asked that question and again I refer to the record and here is my answer. I said, "We must discuss the facts fairly and frankly. For we have before us the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee."

The Soviet delegate quoted at length from the statements of one Stetson Kennedy as his only source of information. It so happens that the *Ad Hoc* Committee examined the charges of Stetson Kennedy. They went through them thoroughly and the record shows the extent of the examination. And what did they do with the charges? They dismissed them as unfounded. I refer you to that report and I would suggest to the delegate from Russia that he read the report.

The Soviet representative next referred to wetbacks. Well, now, there has been some inference around this table on two occasions that wetbacks were something in the United States that people did not like to talk about. Well, it happens that I live only 100 miles north of the Mexican border and I spend quite a little time occasionally in Mexico. I know what wetbacks are and I know Mexico because Mexicans are as fine neighbors as any country could possibly want to have.

Now, what are wetbacks? Wetbacks are Mexican nationals who seek to come into the United States to work on farms voluntarily in order to

get the higher wages that happen to pertain in the United States. That is all a wetback is. The arrangements with regard to legal immigration—the arrangements between the great Republic of Mexico, our neighbor on the south, and the United States—are thoroughly incorporated in the treaty and agreement dated March 10, 1954, which has been released to the public. I would refer the delegate from Soviet Russia to read that agreement.

A wetback, who is an illegal immigrant, is a man that is just as free as any citizen of the United States. He does not happen to be a citizen of the United States but he would like to come into the United States to get work. Of course, we have visa laws and we have to have visas. People have to have visas to come in from the outside and we have to see that those visas are properly honored. It is the machinery with regard to this with which the agreement between the Republic of Mexico and the United States deals. We are glad to have legal Mexican workers. They can go back any time they want. They get the going wages on the farms. They are staying here within the length of time that they are allowed to stay here and then they are supposed to go back to Mexico. They do not have to stay here. They can go back beforehand. I just wanted to clear that up because this has been mentioned several times and I happen to know what wetbacks are.

The Soviet representative also stated that these wetbacks are paid 20 cents an hour. Now, that is perfectly foolish. Do you think the great Republic of Mexico would allow any of her nationals to come over here and work for wages that were less than comparable labor would command in the United States and then would be enslaved by any other country? Would any of you sitting around this table allow any of your nationals to go to any other country and work there under supposedly alleged bad conditions and be paid low wages and kept there under duress? Of course, you would not.

The Soviet representative then stated that in some conference, some meeting somewhere—I did not get exactly where—the United States voted against the right to strike. I did not know what he was talking about, but I would only answer that by asking him how many strikes do you have in the Soviet Union in any one year as compared to the strikes in the United States? Mind you, no one is proud of strikes; no one in the United States wants strikes. But the inherent right of the working man in the United States is to strike and with men as they are you are bound to have differences occasionally. Have you ever read of a strike in the Soviet Union? I haven't.

The Soviet representative next quoted a statement of ex-Secretary of Labor Durkin of the United States, and he based his comment on an article in the *American Mercury* which referred to an article by Mr. Durkin in the January 1954

issue of the *American Federationist*. By implication the Soviet representative stated that the American workers were not allowed to exercise their civil rights. Now mind you, the charge is that American workers are not allowed to exercise their civil rights and the authority quoted was Martin Durkin, former Secretary of Labor. If the delegate of Russia had gone to the library right here in the United Nations and got the source information of that article that was quoted in part in the *American Mercury* from the *American Federationist* where it appears in toto, he would have found that it says instead of American workers not being allowed to exercise their civil rights, that the voters of the country do not exercise their rights enough, that we should have a larger group voting at any election. And we all agree on that, until you get up to the 100 percent optimum.

I would like to quote one paragraph from Mr. Durkin's article:

While this matter [that is, the matter of voting] is of great concern for all Americans, it is especially important to trade unions. We know that whatever weakens democracy also weakens trade unionism, for the first victim of any democratic nation is the trade union movement. The dictators of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Communist Russia have followed the identical pattern. They first crush trade unionism and then move on to exterminate all other evidence of democracy.

That is what the representative of the Soviet Union should have quoted. He should have read all of it.

The Soviet delegate in all of his statements, which are just a crazy quilt of propaganda and charges, has not denied that there is forced labor in Soviet Russia and I doubt that he will deny it. Neither did the delegate from Czechoslovakia deny it yesterday in his speech to this Council. Why? It is part of their laws. The *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labor found that forced labor is the significant part of the Soviet structure in both Russia and the satellite countries, that it is a political weapon used to throttle freedom.

If conditions are so wonderful in Soviet Russia and her satellites, then why does your country, Mr. Tsarapkin, prevent any of your people from leaving the Iron Curtain area, and why do you prevent all others except an inconsequential few from coming in?

Finally, I would just like to conclude by asking the delegate from Soviet Russia these questions:

First, did or did not Soviet Russia vote against the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1954, only 4 months ago, condemning forced labor as a direct contravention of the solemn obligations of the Charter of the United Nations? Yes or no.

Second, did or did not Soviet Russia refuse to answer the questionnaire of the *Ad Hoc* Committee which was sent to all countries?

Third, did or did not Soviet Russia examine the allegations received by the *Ad Hoc* Committee and forwarded to Soviet Russia? I will answer that question, for I would like to quote from the Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on page 519 (under "Comments and Observations of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics"): "The Delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations Secretariat and herewith returns, unexamined, the documents attached to the Secretariat's letter of 22 November 1952, since these documents contain slanderous fabrications concerning the Soviet Union." Now, mind you, they were unexamined and yet they stated that they contained slanderous fabrications concerning the Soviet Union. That evidences a powerful penetration through paper.

Lastly, would or would not the Soviet Union like to see the whole record of the hearings of the *Ad Hoc* Committee made public in all of its shocking detail?

Current Legislation on Foreign Policy: 83d Congress, 1st Session

Security and Personnel Practices and Procedures of the Department of State. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations. Apr. 29 and 30, 1953. 212 pp.

Technical Cooperation Administration (Educational and Training Activities). Hearings before a Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations. June 3, 4, 5, 30, July 2 and 7, 1953. 502 pp.

Foreign Service and Departmental Personnel Practices of the Department of State. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations. Dec. 2, 3, and 4, 1953. 171 pp.

83d Congress, 1st and 2d Sessions

Stockpile and Accessibility of Strategic and Critical Materials to the United States in Time of War. Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials, and Fuels Economics of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs pursuant to S. Res. 143, a Resolution To Investigate the Accessibility and Availability of Supplies of Critical Raw Materials. Part 4, International Materials Conference, Oct. 21, 1953, and Jan. 5, 13, 14, 15, and 18, 1954. 1,181 pp.

Importations of Rye and Barley. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary on Importations of Rye and Barley and Their Effect on Farm Price Programs. Sept. 23, 24, Nov. 30, 1953, and Jan. 19, 1954. 81 pp.

Stockpile and Accessibility of Strategic and Critical Materials to the United States in Time of War. Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials and Fuels Economics of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs pursuant to S. Res. 143. Part 2, Stockpile, General Services Administration, Office of Defense Mobilization, Department of Defense, and Tactical Military Experts. Sept. 23, Oct. 15, 16, 17, and Dec. 22, 1953, and Feb. 2, 1954. 825 pp.

Establishment of Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, Liquidation of Reconstruction Finance Corporation

Messages of the President to the Congress

TRANSMITTAL OF REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 1¹

I transmit herewith Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1954, prepared in accordance with the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended.

The reorganization plan establishes a new Government agency, the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States; transfers to that Commission the functions of the War Claims Commission and of the International Claims Commission of the United States; and abolishes the latter two Commissions.

The Foreign Claims Settlement Commission will be composed of three members appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The President will designate one of the members as Chairman of the Commission. The Chairman will be responsible for the internal management of the affairs of the Commission. The reorganization plan contains provisions designed to assure smooth administration of functions during the period of transition to the new organization.

The War Claims Commission was created as a temporary agency by the War Claims Act of 1948. The Commission was made responsible for settling certain claims of former United States World War II prisoners of war, civilian internees captured or in hiding to avoid capture in the Philippines, Guam, Wake Island, and the Midway Islands, and certain religious organizations in the Philippines which had aided American forces during the war. In 1952, the Commission was assigned, additionally, the administration of claims of Philippine religious organizations which sustained losses of their educational, medical, and welfare facilities in the war, and of benefits to United States prisoners of war for inhumane treatment during internment by the enemy.

From its inception in 1949 to April 1, 1954, approximately 500,000 claims were filed with the War Claims Commission, and approximately \$134,000,-

000 was paid to claimants. Approximately 96,000 remaining claims are in the process of settlement, and the Commission must complete action on them, together with such appeals as may be filed, by March 31, 1955.

The International Claims Commission was established within the Department of State by the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949. Its immediate function was to adjudicate claims covered by a settlement of \$17,000,000 which was deposited with the Government of the United States by the Yugoslav Government primarily to compensate our nationals for losses sustained through nationalization of properties. The act also authorized the Commission to settle such claims as might be included later in any similar agreement between the United States and a foreign government. Subsequently, the Commission was assigned the administration of a \$400,000 settlement negotiated with the Government of Panama.

From its establishment in 1950 to April 1, 1954, the International Claims Commission has settled 531 claims out of a total of 1,622 filed. Of this total, 1,555 claims were against Yugoslavia and 67 were against Panama. Under the act, settlement of the remaining Yugoslav claims must be completed by December 31, 1954.

The accompanying reorganization plan has substantial potential advantages. The Foreign Claims Settlement Commission will be able to administer any additional claims programs financed by funds derived from foreign governments without the delay which has often characterized the initiation of past programs. Moreover, the use of an existing agency will be more economical than the establishment of a new commission to administer a given type of foreign claims program. Consolidation of the affairs of the two present Commissions will also permit the retention and use of the best experience gained during the last several years in the field of claims settlement. The declining workload of current programs can be meshed with the rising workload of new programs with maximum efficiency and effectiveness.

¹ H. Doc. 381, 83d Cong., 2d sess.

A proposed new claims program now pending before the Senate would provide benefits similar to those paid to World War II victims under the War Claims Act for losses and internments resulting from hostilities in Korea. The executive branch of the Government has recommended approval of this program by the Congress. I now suggest that this program be assigned by law to the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission.

There should also be assigned to this new Commission the settlement of such of the claims programs as may be authorized from among those recommended by the War Claims Commission in its report made pursuant to section 8 of the War Claims Act. That report, posing many complex policy, legal, and administrative problems, is now being reviewed by executive agencies; and recommendations will soon be sent to the Congress.

By peace treaties and an international agreement, the United States has acquired the right to utilize certain external assets and settlement funds of several countries. A total of about \$39,000,000 is available to indemnify claims of United States nationals against the Governments of Roumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Italy, arising out of war damage or confiscations in those countries. In addition, claims growing out of United States losses from default on obligations and nationalization of properties may be settled by awards from \$9,000,000 realized from an agreement made in 1933 with the Soviet Union, known as the Litvinov Assignment. Action by the Congress is necessary before these various funds may be assigned for settlement, and recommendations of the executive branch in this connection will be transmitted at an early date.

In addition to the reorganizations I have described, the reorganization plan transfers to the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission the functions of the Commissioner provided for in the Joint Resolution of August 4, 1939. These functions involve the receipt and administration of claims covered by the Litvinov Assignment. The office of Commissioner, for which funds have never been appropriated and which has never been filled, is abolished.

The reorganization plan does not transfer the War Claims Fund or the Yugoslav Claims Fund from the Department of the Treasury, or divest the Secretary of the Treasury of any functions under the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, or under the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949, as amended. It does not limit the responsibility of the Secretary of State with respect to the conduct of foreign affairs. The reorganizations contained in the reorganization plan will not prejudice any interest or potential interest of any claimant.

After investigation, I have found and hereby declare that each reorganization included in the accompanying reorganization plan is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth

in section 2 (a) of the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended. I have also found and hereby declare that it is necessary to include in the accompanying reorganization plan, by reason of reorganizations made thereby, provisions for the appointment and compensation of officers specified in section 1 of the plan. The rate of compensation fixed for each of these officers is that which I have found to prevail in respect of comparable officers in the executive branch of the Government.

The statutory citation for certain functions of the Secretary of State with respect to the International Claims Commission which are abolished by the reorganization plan, is the third and fourth sentences of section 3 (c) of the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949, 64 Stat. 13, as amended.

It is at this time impracticable to specify the reductions of expenditures which it is probable will be brought about by the taking effect of the reorganizations contained in the plan.

Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1954 provides a single agency for the orderly completion of present claims programs. In addition, it provides an effective organization for the settlement of future authorized claims programs by utilizing the experience gained by present claims agencies. It provides unified administrative direction of the functions concerned, and it simplifies the organizational structure of the executive branch. I urge that the Congress allow the reorganization plan to become effective.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

THE WHITE HOUSE,
April 29, 1954.

Text of Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1954

Prepared by the President and transmitted to the Senate and the House of Representatives in Congress assembled, April 29, 1954, pursuant to the provisions of the Reorganization Act of 1949, approved June 20, 1949, as amended.

FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION OF THE UNITED STATES

Section 1. *Establishment of Commission.*—There is hereby established the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, hereinafter referred to as the Commission. The Commission shall be composed of three members, who shall each be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, hold office during the pleasure of the President, and receive compensation at the rate of \$15,000 per annum. The President shall from time to time designate one of the members of the Commission as the Chairman of the Commission, hereinafter referred to as the Chairman. Two members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of the business of the Commission.

Sec. 2. *Transfer of functions.*—(a) All functions of the War Claims Commission and of the members, officers, and employees thereof are hereby transferred to the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States.

(b) All functions of the International Claims Commission of the United States (hereinafter referred to as the

International Claims Commission) and of the members, officers, and employees thereof are hereby transferred to the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States.

(c) The functions of the Secretary of State and of the Department of State with respect to the International Claims Commission and its affairs, exclusive of the functions of the said Secretary and Department under sections 3 (c), 4 (b), and 5, and the first sentence of section 8 (d), of the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949, 64 Stat. 12, as amended, are hereby transferred to the Commission.

(d) The functions of the Commissioner provided for in the Joint Resolution approved August 4, 1939, ch. 421, 53 Stat. 1199, together with the functions of the Secretary of State under section 2 thereof, are hereby transferred to the Commission.

Sec. 3. *Certain functions of Chairman.*—There are hereby vested in the Chairman all functions of the Commission with respect to the internal management of the affairs of the Commission, including but not limited to functions with respect to: (a) the appointment of personnel employed under the Commission, (b) the direction of employees of the Commission and the supervision of their official activities, (c) the distribution of business among employees and organizational units under the Commission, (d) the preparation of budget estimates, and (e) the use and expenditure of funds of the Commission available for expenses of administration.

Sec. 4. *Abolitions.*—(a) The War Claims Commission, provided for in the War Claims Act of 1948, 62 Stat. 1240, as amended, and the International Claims Commission, provided for in the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949, as amended, including the offices of the members of each of the said commissions, and the office of Commissioner provided for in the aforesaid Joint Resolution of August 4, 1939, are hereby abolished.

(b) The functions of the Secretary of State under the third and fourth sentences of section 3 (c) of the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949, as amended, are hereby abolished.

Sec. 5. *Authorization to delegate.*—The Commission is hereby authorized to delegate any of its functions to one or more persons designated by the Commission from among the members of the Commission and the officers and employees serving under the Commission.

Sec. 6. *Transitional provisions.*—(a) Any person who is a member or acting member of the War Claims Commission or of the International Claims Commission immediately prior to the taking effect of the provisions of this reorganization plan may be designated by the President as an acting member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States in respect of an office of member the initial appointment to which has not then been made under section 1 of this reorganization plan. Each such acting member of the said Foreign Claims Settlement Commission shall perform the duties and receive the compensation of member. Unless sooner terminated, the tenure of any acting member designated hereunder shall terminate when the office of member concerned is filled in pursuance of section 1 hereof, or 120 days after the effective date of this reorganization plan, whichever is earlier.

(b) The Chairman shall make such provisions as may be necessary with respect to winding up any affairs of the agencies abolished by the provisions of this reorganization plan not otherwise provided for herein.

(c) So much of the personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds employed, held, used, available, or to be made available, in connection with the functions transferred by section 2 of this reorganization plan as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine shall be transferred to the Commission at such time or times as the said Director shall direct.

(d) Such further measures and dispositions as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall deem to be

necessary in order to effectuate the transfers provided for in subsection (c) of this section shall be carried out in such manner as he shall direct and by such agencies as he shall designate.

Sec. 7. *Effective date.*—The provisions of this reorganization plan shall take effect on the date determined under section 6 (a) of the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended, or the first day of July, 1954, whichever is later.

TRANSMITTAL OF REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 2¹

I transmit herewith Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1954, prepared in accordance with the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended. The reorganization plan assigns to appropriate agencies the liquidation of certain affairs of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

First, the reorganization plan transfers to the Export-Import Bank of Washington loans made to foreign financial institutions and to foreign governments, including a loan to the Republic of the Philippines; all foreign bonds and securities acquired in the liquidation of Corporation lending programs; and functions with respect to the liquidation of those assets. The Bank is this Government's principal instrument for the administration of similar matters and can readily integrate the liquidation of the transferred assets with its other activities in the field of foreign finance.

Second, the reorganization plan transfers to the Small Business Administration loans made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to victims of floods or other catastrophes, together with the function of liquidating those loans. The Small Business Administration is responsible for a similar loan program. Thus, by this transfer, related activities are concentrated in a single agency for effective administration.

Third, the reorganization plan transfers to the Federal National Mortgage Association, in the Housing and Home Finance Agency, real estate mortgages made or acquired under the authority of the RFC Mortgage Company and the Defense Homes Corporation, and the function of liquidating these assets. The Association is responsible under its basic authority for the servicing, liquidation, and sale of the bulk of residential real estate mortgages held by the Government of the United States. Through its field offices, the Association maintains continuous relationships with lending and investing institutions specializing in home financing. It is, therefore, the Federal agency best situated to liquidate the assets of a similar type transferred to it by the reorganization plan.

Under existing authority, the completion of the liquidation of the assets and the winding up of the affairs of the Reconstruction Finance Corpo-

¹ H. Doc. 382, 83d Cong., 2d sess.

ration will be carried out under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury after the succession of the Corporation expires on June 30, 1954. The reorganization plan modifies that arrangement by placing responsibility for the completion of each of the activities described above under the jurisdiction of an agency responsible for a similar continuing program. Thus, the reorganization plan facilitates the orderly and expeditious liquidation of the affairs of the Corporation.

It is not, however, practicable at this time to specify the reductions of expenditures which it is probable will be brought about by the taking effect of the reorganizations contained in the plan.

After investigation, I have found and hereby declare that each reorganization included in Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1954 is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in section 2 (a) of the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended.

I urge that the Congress allow the reorganization plan to become effective.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

THE WHITE HOUSE,
April 29, 1954.

Text of Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1954

Prepared by the President and transmitted to the Senate and the House of Representatives in Congress assembled, April 29, 1954, pursuant to the provisions of the Reorganization Act of 1949, approved June 20, 1949, as amended.

LIQUIDATION OF CERTAIN AFFAIRS OF THE RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Section 1. *Transfer of functions.*—The functions of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (hereinafter referred to as the Corporation) with respect to the following-described matters, together with the functions of the Secretary of the Treasury under section 10 of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, as amended, and under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Liquidation Act, with respect to the said matters, are hereby transferred as follows:

(a) There are transferred to the Export-Import Bank of Washington the said functions relating to:

- (1) The loan made by the Corporation to the Republic of the Philippines under section 3 of the Joint Resolution of August 7, 1946, ch. 811, 60 Stat. 902.
- (2) The loans made by the Corporation to the Government of Ecuador and the Newfoundland Railway of St. Johns, Newfoundland.
- (3) The capital stock of the Banco de Borracha (now known as the Amazon Credit Bank, Belem, Brazil).
- (4) All foreign bonds and securities acquired by the Corporation in the liquidation of its lending programs.

(b) There are transferred to the Small Business Administration the said functions relating to loans made by the Corporation to victims of floods or other catastrophes.

(c) There are transferred to the Federal National Mortgage Association the said functions relating to mortgages held by the Corporation which were made or acquired under the authority of The RFC Mortgage Company or the Defense Homes Corporation.

Section 2. *Transfer of incidental functions.*—There are hereby transferred to each transferee agency so much of the functions of the Corporation, and so much of the functions of the Secretary of the Treasury under section 10 of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, as amended, and under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Liquidation Act, as is incidental to, or necessary for, the performance by the transferee agency of the functions specified in section 1 (a), (b), or (c) hereof, as the case may be, including, in respect of the functions specified in sections 1 (a) (1), 1 (b), and 1 (c) hereof, the authority to issue notes or other obligations to the Secretary of the Treasury, which may be purchased by the Secretary, under section 7 of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, as amended, and the duty of making payments on such notes or obligations issued by or transferred to the transferee agency hereunder.

Sec. 3. *Transfer of assets; miscellaneous transfers.*—

(a) The loans, bonds, securities, mortgages, and capital stock referred to in section 1 of this reorganization plan, together with accrued interest thereon, property acquired in connection therewith, and contracts and other instruments pertaining thereto, are hereby transferred from the Corporation to the respective transferee agencies.

(b) In addition to the transfers made by section 3 (a), above, there shall be transferred to each transferee agency so much as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine to be appropriate by reason of transfers made by sections 1, 2, and 3 (a) of this reorganization plan of the property, personnel, records, liabilities and commitments of the Corporation and of the authorizations, allocations, and funds available or to be made available to the Corporation or the Treasury Department.

(c) Such further measures and dispositions as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine to be necessary in order to effectuate the transfers provided for in sections 3 (a) and 3 (b), above, shall be carried out in such manner and by such agencies as the Director shall direct.

Sec. 4. *Definition.*—As used in this reorganization plan, the term transferee agencies means the Export-Import Bank of Washington, the Small Business Administration, and the Federal National Mortgage Association.

Sec. 5. *Effective date.*—The provisions of this reorganization plan shall take effect at the time determined under the provisions of section 6 (a) of the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended, or at the close of June 30, 1954, whichever is later, and shall be effective notwithstanding any heretofore enacted provisions of law transferring the duty of completing the liquidation of the assets and the winding up of the affairs of the Corporation.

THE DEPARTMENT

Designation

Evron M. Kirkpatrick as Deputy Director for Psychological Intelligence, Office of Intelligence Research, effective May 7. Mr. Kirkpatrick will be responsible for the Department's psychological intelligence support of, as well as liaison with, the psychological warfare and international information programs throughout the Government. He will continue to be responsible for the Department's External Research program.

May 24, 1954

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Check List of Department of State Press Releases: May 10-16

Releases may be obtained from the News Division,
Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.
Press releases issued prior to May 10 which
appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 230 of
May 5 and 235 of May 6.

No.	Date	Subject
239	5/10	Auerbach: Refugee Relief Act
241	5/11	Dulles: News Conference statement
242	5/11	Dulles: News Conference statement
243	5/11	Dulles: News Conference statement
244	5/11	Dulles: News Conference statement
245	5/11	Dulles: News Conference statement
246	5/12	Protest from India
†247	5/12	Key: U.S. economic policies & U.N.
†248	5/14	Merchant: Soviet power system
249	5/13	Notes on U.S. prisoners
250	5/13	Consular convention with Ireland
†251	5/14	Dreier: Security in the Americas
252	5/14	U.S.-Paraguayan relations
253	5/14	Philippine Trade Act changes
254	5/14	Japanese expert on atomic disease
255	5/14	Dulles: Williamsburg address
256	5/14	Visas to Dutch immigrants
257	5/15	Haile Selassie visit
†258	5/15	Allen: Relations with India

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

May 24, 1954



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1936, Volume II, Europe

Papers printed in this volume of special political interest are for the most part those dealing with Nazi control in Germany and with the beginning and early stages of the Spanish Civil War.

Reports on developments in Germany during 1936 repeat the themes of earlier years: intensification of Nazi political control, Nazification of education, resistance to attempted Nazi control of the churches, persecution of the Jews. Of special significance is the report of Ambassador William E. Dodd on September 18 as to means by which the Nazis perverted public opinion to the extent that Hitler could count on the support of the people in any venture he might undertake.

The correspondence in this volume regarding the Spanish Civil War is divided into two sections, one on the international political aspects of the war and the other on the protection of the lives and property of Americans and other nationals. The publicly announced U.S. policy of strict neutrality was reiterated repeatedly as the Civil War continued.

Copies of this volume may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., for \$4.25 each.

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